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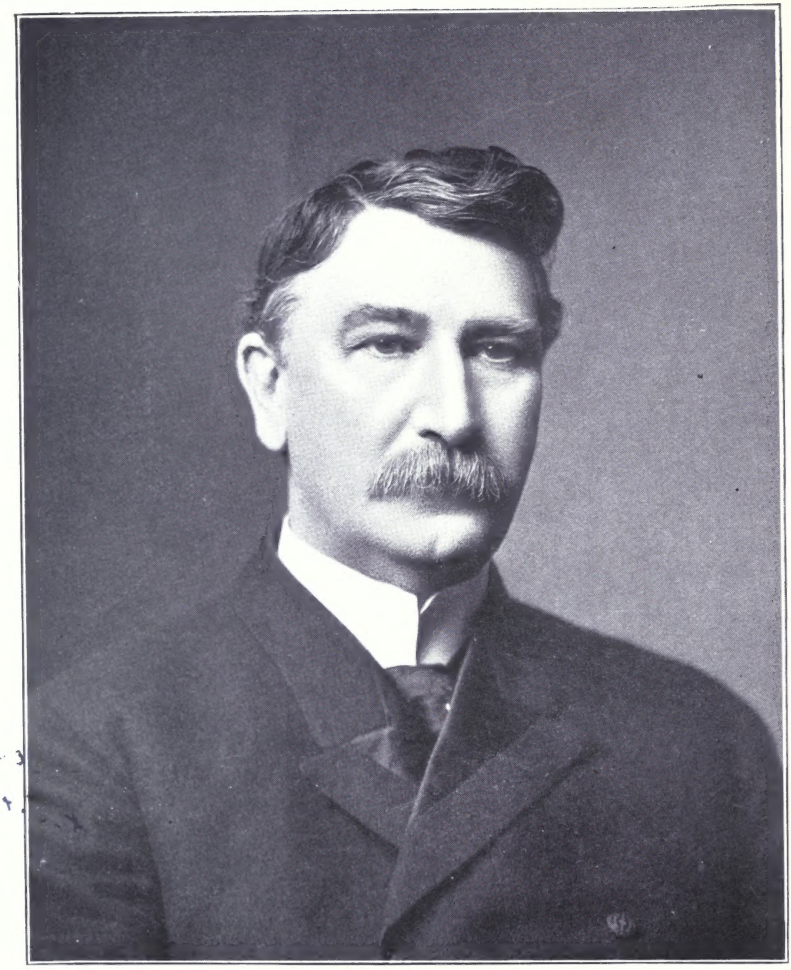

ALFRED ORENDORFF,
President Illinois State Historical Society, 1905-1906.

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For the Year 1905.

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Springfield, Ill., Jan. 25-26, 1905

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The present volume, edited by the publication committee of the Illinois State Historical Society, is made up on a plan substantially similar to that of the preceding volumes. It includes the larger part of the papers read at the annual meeting in 1905; but with the increasing bulk of the annual volumes, it has seemed to the committee no longer desirable to print all the papers at length. The committee desires to lay stress on the *Contributions to State History*, as illustrating that part of the society's publication work which needs further development along judicious lines. The policy of the present committee may be indicated by the following extract from a circular letter recently issued by the chairman.

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"It is proposed to include in this and subsequent volumes the following kinds of historical material:

(1) "Hitherto unpublished letters and other private documentary material. It is thought that public documents may be best provided for in the official publications of the State Historical Library.

(2) "Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with care, with a view to securing material of real historic value.

(3) "Historical essays or brief monographs based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based.

(4) "Bibliographies of special subjects in the history of the State.

"It is hoped that with the coöperation of historical students throughout the State, these annual *transactions* may be given a substantial character which will secure for them the respect and confidence of scholars and of all who are interested in an accurate record of the history of Illinois."

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Sheppard, Prof. R. D., Northwestern University..... .....Evanston, Ill.
Sibley, H. F.....Fairfield, Ill.
Sibley, Dr. W. C.....Fairfield, Ill.
Silliman, E. C.....Chenoa, McLean Co., Ill.
Smith, Col. D. C..... .....Normal, Ill.
Smith, George W., Southern Illinois State Normal University.....Carbondale, Ill.
Smith, Col. Randolph.....Flora, Clay Co., Ill.
Snively, E. A..... Springfield, Ill.
Snively, Mrs. E. A.....Springfield, Ill.
Snyder, Dr. J. F.....Virginia, Cass Co., Ill.
Souther, George H.....Springfield, Ill.
Sparks, Prof. E. E., Ph. D., University of Chicago.....Chicago, Ill.
Sparks, H. B.....Alton, Ill.
Spear, S. L..... .....Springfield, Ill.
Stearns, Arthur K., 112-114 Genesee St, ...Waukegan, Lake Co., Ill.
Stennett, Dr. W. H.....
.....303 Linden Ave., Oak Park, Ill.
Stericker, Louise B. (Mrs. George F. Stericker).....Springfield, Ill.
Stevens, F. E., 1205 Chamber of Commerce Building.....Chicago, Ill.
Steward, Miss Bertha, Steward, Lee Co., Ill.
Steward, John F.....
.....1889 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill.
Steward, Julian R.....Plano, Kendall Co., Ill.
Stringer, Lawrence B..... Lincoln, Ill.
Stubblefield, George W.....Bloomington, Ill.
*Stuvé, Dr. Bernard.....Springfield, Ill.
Swift, E. C.....Ottawa, La Salle Co., Ill.

Tauchan, Mrs. Marie., 1012 West Argyle, Irving Park.....Chicago, Cook Co., Ill.
Taylor, Charles R..... ....Springfield, Ill.
Taylor, Mrs. Harriet Rumsey, Springfield, Ill.
Thayer, Miss Maude.....Springfield, Ill.
Thompson, Henry Avery.....
.....Galena, Jo Daviess Co., Ill.
Throgmorton, Rev. W. P.....
.....Marion, Williamson Co., Ill.
Tomlin, Mrs. Eliza I. H.....Jacksonville, Ill.

Vandervort, Dr. F. C.....Bloomington, Ill.
Vocke, William, President German American Historical Society, 103-109 Randolph Street.....Chicago, Ill.

Waite, Dr. H. N.....Johnson, Vt.
Walker, Rev. Edwin S..... Springfield, Ill.
*Wallace, Joseph.....Springfield, Ill.
Way, Virgil G.....Proctor, Ford Co., Ill.
Weber, Mrs. Jessie Palmer....Springfield, Ill.
Wells, Frederick Latimer.....
.....Wheaton, Du Page Co., Ill.
Wertz, Miss Ada P.....
.....Carbondale, Jackson Co., Ill.
West, Simeon H..... Leroy, McLean Co., Ill.
Wheeler, C. Gilbert..14 State St., Chicago, Ill.
Wheeler, Mrs. Katherine Goss.....
.....Springfield, Ill.
Wheeler, S. P.....Springfield, Ill.
Wightman, G. F.....Lacon, Marshall Co., Ill.
Wiles, Mrs. Alice Bradford (Mrs. Robert H. Wiles), 5711 Woodlawn Avenue, ...Chicago, Ill.
Willcox, E. S.....Peoria, Ill.
Withers, Henry C.....
.....Carrollton, Greene Co., Ill.
Wohlgemuth, Dr. Henry.....Springfield, Ill.
Woltersdorf, Louis.....
.....360 Ashland Boul., Chicago, Ill.
Woodworth, A. P .....
.....Robinson, Crawford Co., Ill.
Woolard, F. M.....Fairfield, Ill.
Worthington, Miriam M., (Mrs. Thomas Worthington).....Jacksonville, Ill.
Worthington, Thomas.....Jacksonville, Ill.
Wyckoff, Dr. Charles T., Bradley Polytechnic Institute.....Peoria, Ill.

Young, J. H....Oakwood, Vermilion Co., Ill.

Zeller, Rev. J. C..Chebanse, Iroquois Co., Ill.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I—NAME AND OBJECTS.

Section 1. The name of this society shall be the Illinois State Historical Society.

Section 2. The objects for which it is formed are to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its peoples.

ARTICLE II—OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY—THEIR ELECTION AND DUTIES.

Section 1. The management of the affairs of this society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors of which board the president of the society shall be ex-officio a member.

Section 2. There shall be a president and as many vice presidents, not less than three, as the society may determine at the annual meetings. The board of directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a secretary and treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

Section 3. The directors shall be elected at the annual meetings and the mode of election shall be by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

Section 4. It shall be the duty of the board of directors diligently to promote the objects for which this society has been formed and to this end they shall have power:

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the prehistoric periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants together with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase, books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property real or personal, in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control under the direction of the board of trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled "An Act to add a new section to an act entitled, an act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor," approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts, and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the society. They may adopt by-laws not inconsistent with this constitution for the management of the affairs of the society; they shall fix the times and places for their meetings, keep a record of their proceedings, and make report to the society at its annual meeting.

Section 5. Vacancies in the board of directors may be filled by election by the remaining members. the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

Section 6. The president shall preside at all meetings of the society, and in case of his absence or inability to act one of the vice presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither president nor vice president shall be in attendance, the society may choose a president pro tempore.

Section 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the board of directors. The treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the board of directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finances of the society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the board of directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing the same the said board shall submit said report to the society at its annual meeting.

Article III—Membership.

Section 1. The membership of this Society shall consist of five classes to-wit: Active, Life, Affiliated, Corresponding and Honorary.

Section 2. Any person may become an active member of this society upon payment of such initiation fee not less than one dollar, as shall from time to time be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

Section 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may upon the payment of twenty-five dollars be admitted as a life member with all the privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

Section 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archeological research or in the preservation of the knowledge of historic events, may upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors be admitted as affiliated members of this Society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as active and life members. Every society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly accredited representative at each meeting of the Society who shall during the period of his appointment be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active membership except that of being elected to office; but nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

Section 5. Persons not active nor life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this Society, may, upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

Section 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the Society upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

Section 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the Society.

Article IV—Meetings and Quorum.

Section 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this Society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of January in each year as may be designated by the Board of Directors; for which meeting it shall be the duty of said Board to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Board of Directors. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the President or any two members of the Board.

Section 3. At any meeting of the Society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

Article V—Amendments.

Section 1. The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting; *Provided* that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the Board of Directors, and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, sent by the Secretary to all the members of the Society.

CORRECTIONS.

On page 110, for Leonard Sweet *read* Leonard *Swett*.
On page 112, last line, for later *read latter*.
On page 116, for Mr. Thompson, Speaker *pro tempore*, *read* Mr. *Jamison*.
On page 196, for Captain Moore read Captain *Mower*.
On page 196, for General John *A.* Wool read General John *Ellis* Wool.
On page 197, for General Packenham, read General *Pakenham*.
On page 201, for Fanning read *Fannin*.
On page 205, for Travers *read Travis*.
On page 213, for Point Isabelle read Point *Isabel*.
On page 213, for General Urea read General *Urrea*.
On page 216, for Col. George Groghan read Col. George *Croghan*.
On page 217, for Capt. John A. Veache read Capt. John A. *Veatch*.
On page 227, for Pass Cavallo read Pass *Carallo*.
On page 245, for Brinckerhoff & Fenton, read Brinckerhoff & *Penton*.
On pages 276, 278, for John Milcot Ellis read John *Millot* Ellis.
On page 360, for Timothy Gard read *Seth Gard*.

SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, SPRINGFIELD, ILL., JAN'Y 25-26, 1905.

FIRST SESSION, WEDNESDAY, JAN'Y 25, 1905, 9 A. M., IN STATE LIBRARY.

BUSINESS MEETING.

The Illinois State Historical Society met in annual session, January 25, 1905, at 9 o'clock a. m. In the absence of President J. F. Snyder, the first vice president, Paul Selby, A. M., called the meeting to order and presided over the sessions. The secretary offered a communication from President Snyder in which he resigned from the presidency of the society. This paper, at the request of the chair, was read by Professor E. E. Sparks.

Professor Sparks offered resolutions on the services to the society of Dr. Snyder. Captain J. H. Burnham made some remarks appreciative of Dr. Snyder's services, and explanatory of his views. Dr. Chamberlin also spoke at length of the debt of gratitude which the society owes Dr. Snyder and asked permission to read a bill prepared by Dr. Snyder and embodying his views as to the future interests of the society. This bill to be presented to the General Assembly of the State, and efforts made to secure its passage.

The bill was read by the secretary.

Professor Greene called for action on the resolutions presented by Professor Sparks. The resolutions were again read and were unanimously adopted by the society, and the secretary was directed to send a copy of them to Dr. Snyder, and to spread them upon the records of the society.

Resolutions.

WHEREAS, Dr. J. F. Snyder, for the past two years president of the Illinois State Historical Society, has given to the organization unsparing effort, untiring devotion and the benefit of his ripened experience in the local history of the State, and

WHEREAS, Much of the prosperity of the society during that period is attributable directly to his administration; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the society accepts with regret the resignation of Dr. Snyder from the presidency of the organization; also

Resolved, That the society hopes to have the continued aid of Dr. Snyder in its further work.

Resolved, That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the society. Captain J. H Burnham asked that the secretary read the proposed bills for legislation affecting the interests of the society. The secretary read the bills as directed.

Remarks were made on the provisions of the bills by Judge McCulloch, Captain Burnham and Dr. Chamberlin.

Professor E. B. Greene spoke at some length on the same subject, during the course of which he reviewed the work of the board of trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. The bill which had been sent by Mr. J. P. Dunn, secretary of the Indiana State Historical Society, and which is a copy of the one recently introduced in the legislature of Indiana, was read by the secretary. It was voted that all these bills be approved in a general way, and that they be referred to the committee on Legislation for final action.

It was announced by the chairman (Mr. Selby) that nominations for officers for the coming year January 1905-1906 were in order.

It was moved by George N. Black and seconded by E. A. Snively that the chair appoint a nominating committee of five. This motion was carried.

The chair announced the nominating committee as follows: Messrs. Burnham, Snively, Chamberlin, Jayne, McCulloch.

Captain Burnham declined to serve and General Smith D. Atkins was appointed in his place, and the nominating committee retired to the Historical library room.

During the absence of the nominating committee the chair called for the report of the secretary and treasurer. It was suggested that as these reports were made to the board of directors they should be approved by it before being read to the society, but there being no further business meeting of the society announced to be held at this annual session, the secretary and treasurer was asked to read the reports.

The reports of the secretary and treasurer were read, and were accepted by the society and referred to the board of directors.

The chair called for reports of committees.

The report of the committee on local historical societies prepared by Judge David McCulloch was read by Captain J. H. Burnham. The report was accepted and approved.

The report of the program committee was made by Mrs. Weber, and was accepted and approved. The report of this committee was verbal and asked active work from its members. Judge McCulloch reported from the committee appointed to attend the meeting of the Illinois Press Association at Galesburg. The report which was a verbal one was accepted and approved.

General Orendorff moved that the secretary be directed to prepare a circular on the relations which now exist and which should exist between the Illinois State Historical Society and the Illinois Press Association. This motion was seconded and on being put to a vote

was carried. Professor E. E. Sparks read the report of the committee on Marking Historic Spots in Illinois. Report accepted and approved.

Professor Sparks made a verbal report of the special Committee on Membership. Report approved and accepted.

Professor Sparks made a verbal report in behalf of the committee which represented the society at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago, December, 1904. The report was approved and accepted.

Mrs. Weber made a verbal report from the Publication committee and made some suggestions as to the work of the committee. This report was referred to the board of directors of the society.

The Nominating committee returned and expressed itself as ready to report. The committee reported as having nominated for officers of the society for the year January 1905-1906, for president of the society and *ex officio* a member of the board of directors, General Alfred Orendorff, Springfield, Illinois.

First Vice President—Paul Selby, Chicago.

Second Vice President—J. H. Burnham, Bloomington.

Third Vice President—General Smith D. Atkins, Freeport.

Board of Directors—J. F. Snyder, Virginia, E. J. James, Urbana, George N. Black, Springfield, J. H. Burnham, Bloomington, M. H. Chamberlin, Lebanon, David McCulloch, Peoria, E. B. Greene, Urbana, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield, E. E. Sparks, Chicago, W. H. Collins, Quincy, J. O. Cunningham, Urbana, Andrew Russell, Jacksonville, Professor George W. Smith, Carbondale, Rev. C. J. Eschmann, Prairie du Rocher, J. W. Clinton, Polo.

It was moved and seconded that the secretary be directed to cast the ballot of the society for the officers as named by the nominating committee. This motion was carried and the secretary cast the ballot of the society as directed.

The chairman declared the officers elected for the year January 1905-1906. Professor E. E. Sparks asked permission to make a few remarks relative to the plan of celebrating the year 1908, the semi-centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858, and urged that the society make plans to coöperate with the schools and clubs and other organizations. It was moved and carried that the society approve the plan, and that the matter be referred to the board of directors.

There being no further business presented the society adjourned to meet in literary session at 2:00 p. m. the same day.

REPORT OF SECRETARY.

To the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Illinois:

GENTLEMEN—I have the honor to submit to you my report as secretary to the board of trustees of the society, January, 1904-January,

1905. At the annual meeting, 1904, it was decided that the society accept the fund offered it by the Louisiana Purchase Exposition commission for making an historical exhibit at St. Louis, to be placed in the Illinois building, and that the matter of the exhibit be placed in the hands of the Board of Trustees of the Historical Library with full power to act. The exhibit was prepared under the supervision of Mr. Black and was, I think, most creditable to the society. A large number of valuable articles were borrowed for the exhibit and have been returned by the society, but the library has reaped its reward in the possession of the remainder. This exhibit was restricted to the life of Abraham Lincoln. The time was so short and the fund so small that it was not possible to represent more than a single phase of the State's history and the Lincoln exhibit was the choice of the members of the commission, as well as of the board of trustees of the library.

The collecting and arranging of the exhibit required a great amount of labor and I spent much time upon it, assisted by the advice and direction of Mr. Black and I had the assistance of my faithful, industrious and painstaking assistant, Miss Georgia L. Osborne, who is always ready to give her time and services, in season and out of season, for the work of the society. A full report of the exhibit appears in the report of the Illinois Commissioners to the Exposition. The membership committee of the society has been doing effective work and I have to report thirty-one new members of the society since the first of November, 1904.

The society now has 251 members, including two life members and seven honorary members. The number of active members includes twenty-eight editors or publishers of newspapers in the State who send copies of their papers to the library and in return are made members of the society without the payment of further dues.

The library and the society have moved into their new quarters on the third floor of the Capitol, in the rooms formerly occupied by the State Geological Museum. Our quarters are much better and more convenient than the old ones, but we are already crowded. Publication No. 9, of the library publications, the transactions of the fifth annual meeting of the society is ready for distribution. It is a much larger book than our last year's volume, containing 701 pages and twenty-four illustrations. The society is to be congratulated on the increase of interest shown in it by the people of the State and for the large increase in its membership.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

RECEIPTS.	
Balance on hand from 1903	$47 04
Annual dues, 1904	74 00
	$121 04
DISBURSEMENTS.	
Postage	$38 00
Printing, programs, circulars, etc	42 50
Expenses of sending materials to Bloomington for annual meeting	10 00
	$90 50

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES:

To the Officers and Members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

Your committee on Local Historical Societies begs leave to report as follows:

No material progress has been made in the past year in the plan for a closer coöperation between the State and local societies.

It is eminently desirable as soon as possible for the State Historical Society to secure a more definite foundation for its own work, and to assert itself as determined to carry it on with more vigor than ever before; making its influence felt in every county of the State, and, in the performance of its duties, the State Historical Society should endeavor to bring about a much more practical union between itself and the local societies with a view for a better utilization of the forces which may be set to work in all portions of the State; but in the meantime, while perfecting its own organization, and while local societies are gradually being organized, we believe no time is being wasted by proceeding slowly with the matter of maturing plans for a better understanding between the different historical societies of the State.

These different societies are proceeding along different lines, and are pioneering their way through many difficulties, and are met by much opposition from indifference, and an indisposition to work, rather than from any well founded arguments against their organization.

We believe the time is close at hand, and it may be actually present, for the adoption of some comprehensive plan, not yet sufficiently outlined for recommendation.

The work of our local societies is really in its infancy, and as these organizations progress, their leading members are fast finding out what appears to be their own appointed field of labor, and in what manner the State Society can be of the most benefit; and the near future will doubtless open many doors for efficient co-operation.

As at present informed; it appears to your committee that these societies are actually nurseries, which furnish many good friends to the State Societies; and which are also gathering up very many valuable historical papers, and much historical information of far more than local interest, instead of drawing off historical matter from the State Society as some have feared, and arresting this material which ought to be on its way to our own repositories. We believe the societies will, in many different portions of the State prove to be depositories, where the State Society can always find material which would otherwise be forever lost.

We desire to urge upon these local societies the importance of publication. History which is merely given verbally to interested listeners, or even read from manuscript to a small audience, falls far short of its mission unless put in type, furnished to the public, and placed in libraries for the benefit of future generations.

It is a pleasure to be able to show that something has already been done in the direction of publication, and such societies as have done nothing in this line should be encouraged to make the attempt as soon as possible.

In this connection, your committee desires to commend "A bill for an act to provide for the promotion of historical research in the several counties of the State" which will be introduced in the Legislature in a few days. If this bill becomes a law, it will allow the board of supervisors, or county commissioners, if they so desire, to use public money in the publication of the proceedings of local historical societies. The present law for this purpose, merely provides for such publication on a vote of the people, and so far, we believe no such vote has ever been taken, owing to the technical difficulties in the way of submitting anything to a vote of the people.

Another bill soon to be presented to the Legislature, is to provide for the transferring of interesting or important public documents to the State or any other historical society. Both of these acts are very necessary to the welfare of all historical societies, State and local, and your committee not only endorses them in its capacity as the standing committee on Local Historical Societies, but urges upon the State Historical Society and the State Historical Library, the importance of separate endorsements of these bills from each organization.

The following are the different societies engaged in historical investigation in the State of Illinois, so far as your committee is able to report:

The Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Ill.—President, Franklin H. Head; Secretary, James W. Fertig.

This is much more than a local society, its field being the entire northwest; it possesses a very imposing, fireproof building of its own, and the value of its property, including building, grounds and invested funds, is over $300,000: it has accummulated a very fine library and has also gathered a vast amount of historical material.

The Illinois Society, Springfield, Ill.—President,——— Secretary, T. J. Crowder, Springfield.

This society has large plans for the future, and has already held a number of interesting meetings. One of its published specialties is genealogy, and if this or some other society would develop into a State Genealogical Society it would find a very important field of labor at present almost entirely uncultivated.

The German-American Historical Society, Chicago, Ill.—President, Hon. Wm. Vocke; Secretary, Emil Mannhardt.

This society publishes a quarterly devoted to the history of the German settlements in the different portions of this State, and is doing a very important work which should be imitated by the various European nationalities in the State of Illinois.

The three societies above mentioned are not properly local societies as their field is the State or the entire northwest, but we desire to incorporate this account in our list of historical societies.

There are several societies which are known as city societies.

The New England Society, Rockford, Ill.

This society does not keep up its organization by regular meetings but it has done an important work by securing the publication of a very fine history of Rockford and Winnebago counties.

The Elgin Scientific Club has aspirations in this direction, but of late years has held few or no meetings and we have no late report from this society.

The Evanston Historical Society, Evanston, Ill.—President, Harvey B. Hurd; Secretary, J. Seymour Curry.

This society has done some excellent work. Our society, in its current issue, publishes a letter written last year by Mr. Curry stating very clearly the careful and thorough method of the society's work. He writes this year, "the society is soon to have a room in the new public library now building," and that it may be expected to do better work now than ever before.

The Quincy Historical Society, Quincy, Ill.—President, Lorenzo Bull; Secretary, S. H. Emery.

This society has been assisting some publishers who are preparing a history of Quincy and Adams county which is soon to be published, and the society will take a large number of copies of this book.

It was organized quite a number of years ago, being one of the pioneer societies of the State, and will be able to show important results.

There are two small societies which have not made great pretensions, but whose published work during the year, in pamphlet form, is to be commended, as they have the one great element of success, publication.

One is the Polo Historical Society, Polo, Ill., and the other is the LeRoy Historical Society, of LeRoy, McLean county, Ill.

The officers of the first named society are: President, J. W. Clinton, Polo; Secretary, J. M. Bridgeman, Polo; and of the other are: President, T. L. Buck, LeRoy, Ill.; Secretary, James Coons, LeRoy, Ill.

The Jersey County Historical Society was the first county society organized in this State and is more than a dozen years old but at last accounts was in a condition of suspension.

The DeKalb County Historical Society was organized at Sycamore on the same day on which the Illinois State Historical Society was organized. It makes no report and appears never to have held but one meeting. Probably the intense local feeling generated by the county seat feud between Sycamore and DeKalb is the cause of non-action.

The Pike County Historical Society was organized three years ago, and after holding one or two meetings has become merged in the "Old Settler's Association," but we hope to hear of its revival at some future time.

There are nine well organized county societies in the State of Illinois, the most of them actively engaged in work, as follows:

Champaign County Historical Society, Urbana, Ill.—President, J. O. Cunningham.

A county history will soon be published which will contain many of the papers of this society, which has done very important local historical work.

Maramech Historical Society of Kendall County, Plano, Ill.—President, John F. Steward, 1889 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill.; Secretary, Avery N. Beebe, Yorkville, Ill.

This society has organized itself into divisions for practical work, and is likely to be one of the most successful societies in the State.

Madison County Historical Society, Alton, Ill. (No report this year.)—President, 1903, E. P. Wade, Alton, Ill.; Secretary, Miss Julia Buckmaster, Alton, Ill.

Whiteside County Historical Society, Sterling, Ill.—President, Moses Dillon, Sterling, Ill.; Secretary, W. W. Davis, Sterling, Ill.

"Established January, 1903; about 300 books, files of pamphlets, old magazines and papers, ten show cases of early local cards, circulars, pictures, ballots, badges, programmes and posters, relics and curios of every name. In fact enough material to start a museum. Few societies of two years standing can make so good a show. W. W. Davis, Secretary."

Woodford County Historical Society, Eureka, Ill.—President, Col. B. D. Meek, Eureka, Ill.; Secretary, J. C. Jeanport, Eureka, Ill.

This society holds annual meetings.

Logan County Historical Society, Lincoln, Ill.—President, J. T. Hoblit, Lincoln, Ill.; Secretary, Lelia B. Collins, Lincoln, Ill.

This society will soon be in a room in the new court house now being erected at Lincoln, and in connection with the Daughters of the American Revolution, will soon be doing good work in Logan county.

McLean County Historical Society, Bloomington, Ill.—President, George P. Davis, Bloomington, Ill.; Secretary, E. M. Prince, Bloomington, Ill.

This was the second county historical society to be organized in Illinois. It has published three volumes of its transactions and has other material in course of preparation for future publication.

Green County Historical Society, Carrollton, Ill.—Organized October, 1904—President, H. C. Withers, Carrollton, Ill.; Secretary, Charles Bradshaw, Carrollton, Ill.

Morgan County Historical Society, Jacksonville, Ill.—President, Carl E. Black, Jacksonville, Ill.; Secretary, Frank J. Heinl, Jacksonville, Ill.

The work of this society will have special reference to Morgan county as originally organized, comprising the counties of Cass, Scott and Morgan.

Jackson County Historical Society, at Carbondale- not fully organized or named.

It may take the name of Jackson County Historical Society or the Southern Illinois Society.

Peoria Historical Society, Peoria, Ill.—This society was organized in 1903—President, David McCulloch, Peoria, Ill.; Secretary, Helen M. Wilson, Peoria, Ill.

The Peoria society is not a county society; its field of research is intended to be primarily the Illinois valley, though it will also perform the functions of a county society; being at one of the centers of historic interest, its papers, several of which are already prepared, will have much more than local interest, and it is to be hoped that our State Society will have an opportunity to publish some of the most important of these papers.

It will thus be seen that at more than a dozen different points in Illinois, may be found centers of local, or much more than local historic interest; centers from which, if properly nursed and cultivated by the State at large, by the State Historical Society and by the people most vitally interested in the success of the local societies, it may well be expected that new recruits may at any time be discovered for our State Society, and very important influences at widely separate points, may at any moment be set in motion to promote the interests of the Illinois State Historical Society, and be the means of causing this society to take the rank it so richly deserves among the leading historical societies of the union.

J. H. Burnham,
Geo. W. Smith,
J. O. Cunningham,
D. McCulloch,
W. W. Davis.

Meeting of the Board of Directors, Illinois State Historical Society, January 25, 1905.

The Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met at 12 o'clock noon on January 25, 1905, at the close of the morning (first session) session of the annual meeting of the society. Present, General Alfred Orendorff, Hon. David McCulloch, Professor E. E. Sparks, Professor E. B. Greene, J. H Burnham, J. W. Clinton, Dr. M. H. Chamberlin, George N. Black, Professor George W. Smith, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.

General Alfred Orendorff was asked to preside as temporary chairman and on motion of Mr. George N. Black he was made the permanent chairman of the board of directors. Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber was elected permanent secretary and treasurer. The reports of the secretary and treasurer were read and approved. The appointments of committees for the year were called for. The members of the program committee were announced as follows: Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, chairman, Dr. J. F. Snyder, J. H. Burnham, Professor E. E. Sparks, Paul Selby, Smith D. Atkins, Mrs. S. P. Wheeler. This nomination was on motion, carried.

The finance and auditing committee was nominated and elected. Its members are: George N. Black, E. J. James, Jessie Palmer Weber.

The president named as the publication committee: E. B Greene, chairman; Geo. N. Black, M. H. Chamberlain, Jessie Palmer Weber, Alfred Orendorff, ex-officio. This nomination was confirmed.

The constitution and by-laws committee was continued.

It was voted that the committee on legislation be composed of the three trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library and three members to be named by the president, This committee has power to add to its own membership.

A discussion of the question of local historical societies was held and was quite general. The committee on local historical societies was named by the president and approved. It was composed of the following persons; J. H. Burnham; chairman, J. O. Cunningham, George W. Smith, David McCulloch, W. W. Davis, Frank J. Heinl.

The Peoria Historical Society, the McLean County Historical Society and the Polo Historical Society applied for membership as affiliated societies. Judge McCulloch representing the Peoria society, Captain J. H. Burnham the McLean county society and Mr. J. W. Clinton the Polo society. The applications of these societies were approved and accepted and the societies were received as affiliated societies of the Illinois State Historical Society.

It was moved and seconded, and the motion was carried. that the president be a member of all committees.

On the motion of Dr. M. H. Chamberlin, Mrs. Mary F. Deneen, the widow of Professor Samuel H. Deneen, and the mother of the present Governor of the State of Illinois, was elected an honorary member of the society. On motion of George N. Black, Hon. Richard Yates, the retiring Governor of the State of Illinois was elected an honorary member of the society.

Professor E. B. Greene asked that the question of the place of holding the next annual meeting of the society be considered and stated that he desired to ask the society to meet at the University of Illinois. This question and the invitation were on the motion of Mr. Chamberlin postponed until the next session of the board of directors to be held at the call of the president the following day (Thursday, January 26, 1905).

There being no further business presented, it was moved by Captain J. H. Burnham, that the board of directors adjourn to meet the following day at a convenient time and at the call of the president.

This motion prevailed and the meeting adjourned.

Meeting of the Board of Directors, 12 o'clock Noon, Jan. 26, 1905

The Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met in the rooms of the library at 12 o'clock noon, January 26, 1905, at the close of the morning session of the annual meeting of the society. Present, General Alfred Orendorff, Rev. C. J. Eschmann, George N. Black, Professor George W. Smith, Hon. David McCulloch, J. W. Clinton, Captain J. H. Burnham, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.

It was moved by Mr. Burnham, that Congressman George W. Smith be asked to procure for the society from the proper officer of the United States such charts, or plats as may be available of the Mississippi river and its deviations, near Kaskaskia, Ill. This motion was carried.

The question of the study of the history of the State of Illinois, in the public schools was discussed. It was moved by Professor George W. Smith that the society urge on the present session of the General Assembly of the State, that a bill be passed requiring teachers in the schools of the State to pass an examination in State history and that the society endorse the views expressed by Professor Henry McCormick in his paper, read before the society, entitled "The Value to Both of a Closer Connection Between the State Historical Society and the Public Schools." The matter was referred to the committee on legislation. It was moved that Professor Henry McCormick be made a member of the committee on legislation. This motion was seconded and carried.

The bills of General Alfred Orendorff and Judge McCulloch for expenses in attending the meeting of the Illinois State Press Association at Galesburg were presented and were allowed. The treasurer was ordered to pay them.

There being no further business presented the board of directors adjourned to meet later in the day at the call of the president.

The Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met in the library rooms at 4 o'clock P. M., Thursday, January 26, 1905. Present—General Alfred Orendorff, Capt. J. H. Burnham, J. W. Clinton, Dr. M. H. Chamberlin, Hon. David McCulloch, George N. Black, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.

President Orendorff presided. It was voted that the invitation of the University of Illinois for the next annual meeting of the society to be held at Urbana be declined, as it was decided that Springfield was the best place for holding the meeting, and it was decided that the annual meeting be held in Springfield on January 24 and 25, 1906.

It was moved by Dr. Chamberlin that the president and secretary be authorized to send representatives to assist local historical societies, or to visit them on the occasion of meetings when it seems necessary, and that the president, as occasion demands it, authorize the treasurer to pay the expenses of such agents from any fund not otherwise appropriated. This motion was carried.

It was moved and seconded, and the motion was carried, that Dr. Chamberlin and Father Eschmann be appointed to visit the Missouri Historical Society and confer with the officers or other representatives of it for the purpose of formulating some plan for a memorial to Father Pierre Gibault. The secretary was directed to procure a proper seal for the society. The board of directors endorsed the plan suggested by Mr. J. P. Dunn for a memorial volume to be issued jointly, by the States of Illinois, Indiana and Missouri in honor of Father Pierre Gibault.

The president announced the following named persons as a special committee on membership of the society—Prof. E. E. Sparks, chairman, J. W. Clinton, Polo, Charles L. Capen, Bloomington, J. Nick Perrin, Belleville, Arthur V. Harvick, Vienna, Mrs. Thomas Worthington, Jacksonville, Miss May Latham, Lincoln, Dr. A. W. French, Springfield, Alfred Orendorff, ex-officio. This committee as announced was approved by the board of directors.

The president announced as the committee on legislation—E. J. James, George N. Black, M. H. Chamberlin, J. McCan Davis, E. A. Snively, Henry McCormick, Andrew Russell, Alfred Orendorff, ex-officio.

There being no further business presented, the board of directors adjourned to meet at the call of the president.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, FEBRUARY 21, 1905.

The Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met in the library rooms on February 21, 1905 at 2:00 o'clock p. m. Present—General Alfred Orendorff, Dr. M. H. Chamberlin, George N. Black, Hon. David McCulloch, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, and by invitation Prof. Henry McCormick and Mr. E. A. Snively.

The resignation or declination to serve on the board, of Dr. J. F. Snyder was announced and Hon. L. Y. Sherman was elected to fill the vacancy.

There being no further business the board of directors adjourned to meet at the call of the president.

Meeting of the Legislative Committee of the Illinois State Historical Society, February 21, 1905, in the Illinois State Historical Library at 3 o'clock, p. m. Present—General Alfred Orendorff, E. A. Snively, Hon. David McCulloch, George N. Black, Prof. Henry McCormick.

General Orendorff was made chairman of the meeting and Mrs. Weber was asked to act as secretary. Judge McCulloch read a copy of a bill recently introduced in the Legislature, which if passed would create the office of State Historian. Mr. Snively read a proposed bill which proposed reorganizing the State Historical Library and the State Historical Society, etc. Both of these bills were discussed at length. By request Mr. Snively again read the bill relating to the library and society. Professor McCormick suggested that the bill be re-written and moved that a committee be appointed to draft the bill. Mr. Black made some remarks opposing some features of the proposed bill and Professor McCormick withdrew his motion. The president suggested that Messrs. James, Chamberlin and Black be appointed a committee to draw up a bill. Doctor Chamberlin declined to act. There was no second to the motion and it was not offered. Mr. Black moved the postponement of the entire matter. Professor McCormick moved, and it was seconded, that Doctor Chamberlin, Judge McCulloch and the president be appointed a committee to carefully consider the provisions of the bills which had been offered and to draft a suitable bill, if in their judgment it was expedient to offer a bill to the Legislature at this session. The president declined to act on such a committee as he expected to be away from Illinois for a time. The motion was amended that Doctor Chamberlin and Judge McCulloch act as the committee. This motion was carried.

There being no further business before the committee, it adjourned.

PART II.

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting, 1905

PROGRAM OF EXERCISES

OF THE

SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
SUPREME COURT ROOM, STATE CAPITOL, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 25, 1905,
In the Supreme Court Room, State Capitol.

FIRST SESSION, 9:00 O'CLOCK, A. M.

Business Meeting.

Election of Officers.
Committee Reports.

SECOND SESSION, 2:00 O'CLOCK, P. M.

Literary Sessions.

Social Life and Scenes in the Early Settlement of Central Illinois.....Hon. James Haines, Pekin
Music.
St. Clair County.....Hon. J. Nick Perrin, Belleville
A Short Sketch of the Life and Public Services of General James Semple, by his grand daughter....Mrs. Mary Semple Ames Cushman, St. Louis, Mo.

THIRD SESSION, 7:45 O'CLOCK, P. M.

Music.....Illinois
Annual Address.....Hon. J. P. Dunn
Music.

THURSDAY, JANUARY, 26.

FOURTH SESSION, 9:00 O'CLOCK, A. M.

The Value to Both of a Closer Connection between the State Historical Society and the Public Schools..Professor Henry McCormcik, Normal, Ill.
Music.
Bishop Chase and Jubilee College.....Rev. C. W. Leffingwell, Knoxville, Ill.
The Republican State Convention of 1856 and Those Who Participated in It.....Hon. J. O. Cunningham. Urbana, Ill.

FIFTH SESSION, 2:00 O'CLOCK, P. M.

Ancient Fort Chartres. the Birthplace of Illinois.....Homer Mead, M. D., Camden, Ill.
Dr. George Cadwell.....Hon. R. W. Mills, Virginia, Ill.
Music.
Father Gibault, the Patriot Priest of the Northwest.....J. P. Dunn, author of History of Indiana, etc., Indianapolis, Ind.
Old Palestine.....Hon. J. C. Allen, Olney, Ill.

SIXTH SESSION, 7:45 O'CLOCK, P. M.

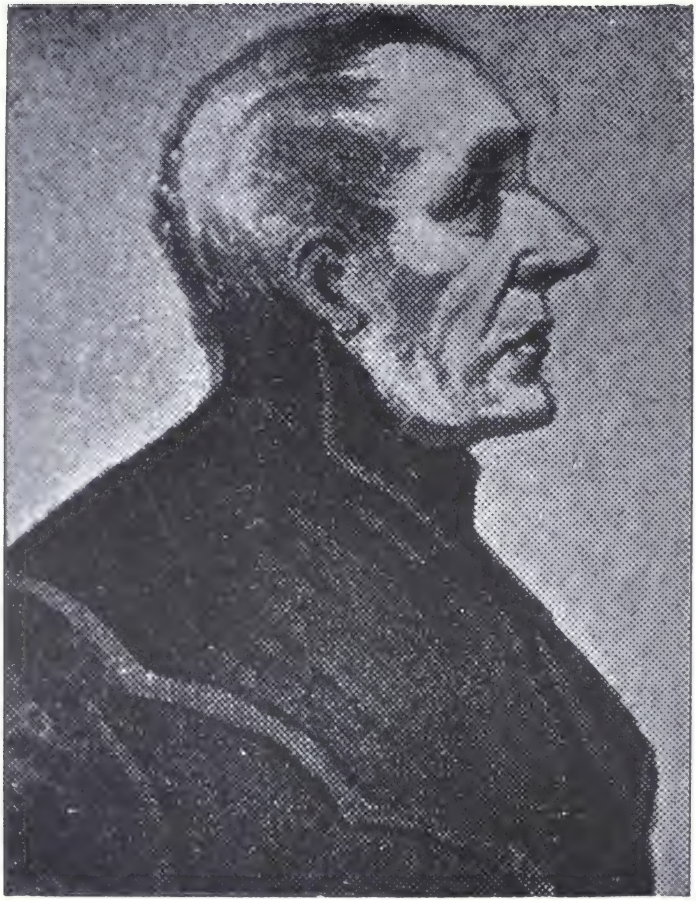
Kaskaskia Evening.

Music. Quartette—Illinois.
Old Kaskaskia Days and Ways.....Mr. Stuart Brown, Springfield, Ill.
Reception in the Rooms of the Illinois State Historical Society.

LOCAL COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS

With Power to Appoint Associates.

Mrs. S. P. Wheeler,
Mr. George N. Black,
Hon. Alfred Orendorff,
Mrs. Thomas Worthington,
Miss Emma F. Jones,
Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber,
Mrs. J. McCan Davis,
Dr. William Jayne.



FATHER PIERRE GIBAULT.
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ANNUAL ADDRESS.

FATHER GIBAULT: THE PATRIOT PRIEST OF THE NORTHWEST.

(By J. P. Dunn)

There are no two states of the Union which have been so closely and yet so diversely united in their history as Illinois and Indiana. Since their admission as states their common interests have been, of course, much the same as those of other adjoining states. In the territorial period, from 1800 to 1809, Illinois was a part of Indiana Territory, and, as the Indiana side was settled the more rapidly, it dominated in the territorial government. The seat of government was within the bounds of Indiana. Under the Northwest Territory, both were subject to Ohio domination. Prior to American occupation, under the British both were ruled from Quebec through Detroit; but under the French both were ruled from New Orleans; and under both British and French rule Illinois was the dominating factor.

The dominance of Illinois began in the time of LaSalle, who induced all of the Indian tribes of Indiana to move into Illinois and join his confederacy, which was located around Starved Rock on the Illinois river, leaving Indiana uninhabited. After his death the tribes gradually moved back to their old homes on the Wabash, and north of it, but there were no permanent white settlements in Indiana for many years, though there were probably French trading houses near the site of Ft. Wayne as early as 1718, and at Ouiatanon in 1720. ("Indiana," American Commonwealth Series, Chapters 1 and 2.)

In this latter year there came to Kaskaskia a man who was destined to have a more permanent influence on the region than LaSalle. This was Nicolas Ignace de Beaubois, a Jesuit priest, born at Orleans, France, Oct. 15, 1689, who had come into Canada in 1718. When he was appointed curé at Kaskaskia, two years later, the place, which had until then been a mission only, was established as a parish. It should be understood that although the Bishop of Quebec was ecclesiastical superior over Louisiana as well as Canada, the church establishments of the two provinces were practically distinct, and that of Louisiana was largely controlled by the Company of the Indies which supported the priests and missionaries of that province. In

1722, owing to friction between the various religious orders, the Louisiana authorities divided the spiritual jurisdiction among them, much as our Indian tribes were parceled out to the various churches by President Grant. All the region north of the Ohio was given to the Jesuits, while, south of the Ohio, the region east of the Mississippi was assigned to the Discalced Carmelites, and that west of the river to the Capuchins. This arrangement lasted about six months, when the Bishop of Quebec, dissatisfied with the work of the Carmelites, added their district to that of the Capuchins. A year later, as the Capuchins did not furnish clergymen enough to suit the company, it gave to the Jesuits all the territory north of Natchez, and restricted the Capuchins to the region south. This move alarmed the Capuchins, who demanded guaranty against further aggressions, and, finally, in 1725, the matter was permanently adjusted on the basis of the Natchez boundary, and confirmed by patent of the King.

From the time Father de Beaubois was stationed at Kaskaskia, letters began to go to France urging the desirability of a post on the "Ouabache," under which name was included the Wabash proper and also the Ohio below the mouth of the Wabash; for during the first half of the eighteenth century the French always described the Ohio as emptying into the Wabash, and the Wabash as emptying into the Mississippi. Father Charlevoix, LaHarpe, De Boisbriant, and De Beaubois himself, all joined in the call for a fort on the Ouabache.

Meanwhile the Louisiana authorities were being impressed with the fact that the Capuchins were not able to furnish the clergy needed in the province, and, on Feb. 20, 1726, they entered into an agreement with the Jesuits to supply missionaries not only for their own district but also for the Indians in the Capuchin district, and, in addition, to secure an establishment of nuns at New Orleans. To do all this, Father de Beaubois was to go to France, and in aid of his mission the Chevalier de Bourgmont gathered at New Orleans twenty-two Indian chiefs and other tribal representatives who were to accompany him. Just before they were to embark, the ship in which they were to sail sank at its moorings, and this so frightened the Indians that only half-a-dozen of them finally consented to go, the most important of these being the Mitchigamia chief Agapit Chicagou. In this connection, permit me to diverge for a moment to say that the controversy which has so long raged in Illinois over the meaning of this word "Chicagou," is disposed of by a memoir of La Mothe Cadillac, the founder of Detroit, written in 1695 from Michilimackinac, where he then commanded. In describing the various French posts and Indian villages, he says: "The post of Chicagou comes next. This word signifies the River of Garlic, because it produces naturally, without any cultivation, a very large quantity of it." (Margry's Découvertes et Etablissements, Vol, 5, p. 123.)

De Beaubois and his Indians were well received in France. They were presented at court, and royally entertained. De Beaubois accomplished all his undertakings, and sent over the nuns who founded the famous Ursuline Convent at New Orleans, and a supply of missionaries, among whom was Father Stephen D'Outreleau, destined for the proposed establishment on the Ouabache. By this time the

Ouabache project had taken definite shape, and apparently under inspiration of De Beaubois. During the French regime, all of Illinois except the northeast corner was included in Louisiana, but the dividing line between it and Canada crossed the Wabash near the present site of Terre Haute, and all of the Indians in Indiana lived north of that point. Consequently De Beaubois would have no Indians for his Ouabache mission unless they could be induced to move; and the new plan was, instead of establishing a large and expensive fort, to build a small one, and bring enough Indians to the lower Wabash to protect it from the English. To secure this result, Sieur de Vincennes, who was with the Wabash Indians, and was very popular with them, was to be given a position in the Louisiana service, and to use his influence to induce the Indians to move. This plan was carried out, but not speedily, for not until the summer of 1731 did Vincennes get the Piankeshaws to leave their old village on the Vermilion, and begin building his fort. By that time De Beaubois had got into an awful row with the Louisiana authorities, and had been expelled from the province, while Father D'Outreleau had become weary of waiting and gone down the river. After narrowly escaping death at the hands of the Yazous, he located for a time at New Orleans, where he is said to have served as Spiritual Director of the Ursulines, and chaplain of the hospital. (The Mission to the Ouabache, Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs., Vol. 3, No. 4; The Jesuit Relations, Vol. 67, p. 342; Vol. 70, p. 243; Vol. 71, p. 169.)

After the removal of Father De Beaubois the life seems to have been taken out of the mission work north of the Ohio so far as aggressive development was concerned. There were still priests laboring in this region, but their efforts were rather to hold the ground already occupied than to open new fields, and from all appearances they had ample work to occupy all their time at that. They had to cover a great deal of ground, and their flocks were not so deeply concerned with religious duties as they should have been. The preserved records of the Vincennes parish go back only to 1749, and what was done there prior to that time is uncertain. It appears, however, that there was some sort of church establishment at the place prior to that time, for the Abbé Tanguay states that Father Pacôme Legrand, who died on Oct. 6, 1742, was at the time returning from a term of service at Vincennes. (Shea's Catholic Church in Colonial Days, p. 578.) In the period of the preserved records the priests who served at Vincennes bore names familiar in the Illinois parishes. The first entries were made by Father Sebastian Louis Meurin. In 1752 the name of Father Peter du Jaunay appears. In 1753 Father Louis Vivier, writer of the well known letter from the Illinois in 1750 which appears in the Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, came to Vincennes for a three years' stay. He was succeeded in November, 1756, by Father Julian Devernai, who was the last of the old Jesuits at Vincennes.

The times on which Father Devernai fell were indeed troublous, for they covered the French and Indian war, which ended French rule in America. When the news of the Treaty of Paris reached the Illinois country the settlers were filled with alarm, for they were

handed over to the mercies of the Protestant English, the ancient enemies of their country. Many of them left the settlements, some going to New Orleans, and others to the region west of the Mississippi. Thither, to the new settlement of St. Louis, or Pain Court, as it was called, went Neyon de Villiers, commandant of the Illinois country, after calling St. Ange from Vincennes to take his place at Ft. Chartres.

You will pardon me for again diverging, to straighten out the St. Ange family, which has been sadly mixed by all of our historians. It has been a common impression that this St. Ange who came to the command of Ft. Chartres in 1764 was the same one that commanded there thirty years earlier. I corrected this error some years ago in my history of Indiana, getting a clue from a foot-note of Margry that, in 1736, after the disastrous Chickasaw campaign in which Sieur de Vincennes was killed, the St. Ange then at Ft. Chartres asked for his place for his son. (Découvertes et Etablissements, Vol. 6, p. 448.) I sent to Paris, and through the kindness of Miss Jessie McDonald —granddaughter of the late Senator Jos. E. McDonald—obtained a copy of the passage to which he refers. It is in a letter from Bienville, dated at New Orleans, June 29, 1736, recommending appointments for the places of officers lost in the Chickasaw campaign, and reads as follows:

"The death of M. de Vincennes leaves vacant a position of half-pay lieutenant. M. de St. Ange, the father, who has served the king for more than fifty years, and who had a son killed at the Chickasaws, has asked me to request this place for the last son who remains to him. He is commanding at present a little post on the Missouri, and M. D'Artaguiette has often spoken to me of him as a brave youth and one of much merit."

Miss McDonald also obtained for me copies from the Alphabet Lafillard, or memorandum of appointments kept at Paris, of the following entries under the name St. Ange:

"St. Ange (pere)	capitaine d'armes a la ½ solde	
	enseigne reformé (Louisiana)	20 mai 1722
	lieutenant " "	19 decembre 1722
	confirmé par le roi	4 avril 1730
	capitaine reformé	17 avril 1738
"St. Ange (fils aîné)		
	enseigne reformé	19 decembre 1722
	enseigne au pied	1 avril 1730
	lieutenant	17 aout 1732
	tué a la guerre des sauvages & remplacé	15 october 1736
"St. Ange (cadet)		
	lieutenant reformé	15 october 1736

I also obtained from the Canadian archives a copy of a certificate made at St. Louis in 1773 by "Louis St. Ange de Bellerive," then in the Spanish service, that he commanded at Post Vincennes from 1736 to 1764, succeeding Sieur de Vincennes in the command.

In 1885, Mr. O. W. Collett, of St. Louis, published the will of "Mr. St. Ange de Bellerive," who died at St. Louis on Dec. 27, 1774, and among his listed effects were the following:

First, a commission or order from M. De La Buissoniere, who succeeded D'Artaguiette in command of the Illinois settlements, dated July 1, 1736, directing St. Ange to take command of the Post of the Pianguichats, which was the official title of Post Vincennes at that time; second, a commission from the King as lieutenant reformé, dated Oct. 16, 1736; third, a commission from the King as captain, dated Sept. 1, 1738. (Mag. of West Hist., Vol: 2, pp. 60-65.)

These documents make it plain that there were three St. Anges in the Louisiana service, a father and two sons; that the elder son was killed in 1736; that the second son commanded at Vincennes from 1736 to 1764, and then at Ft. Chartres; and that the father probably died in 1738, after the issue to him of the commission as captain reformé on April 17, 1738, and before the issue of the commission as captain reformé to the surviving son on Sept. 1 of the same year. This last presumption is confirmed by entries in the parish records of Prairie du Rocher, in 1743 and 1744, concerning "Madame St. Ange, widow of the late M. de St. Ange, captain reformé." (Pub. No. 8, Ill. Hist. Library, pp. 132, 138.) The record of his death will probably be found at some future time buried away in some of the parish records of Illinois.

It will be noted that Bienville calls the father "M. de St. Ange," and this title was usually given by his contemporaries, as, for example, in his memorandum concerning the war with the Fox Indians in 1730, in recommending the St. Anges, father and elder son, for promotion for meritorous service, Beauharnois calls the father "Sieur de St. Ange." In the son's certificate above mentioned, in his will, in the minutes of the formal surrender of Ft. Chartres (N. Y. Col. Docs., Vol. 10, p. 1161) and elsewhere, the son is called "St. Ange de Bellerive." American writers, myself among them, have adopted this nomenclature, and so careful and learned an investigator as the late E. G. Mason makes it "M. de St. Ange de Bellerive." But in years of search I have been unable to find any trace of any such title as "St. Ange" or "Bellerive," either in France or Canada. There was never any estate, seigniory or fief bearing either name. Whence then were these titles derived?

As we have seen, Bienville states in 1736 that the father had then been in the King's service over fifty years, although he had been on the Louisiana rolls less than fifteen years. It is a matter of history that a Canadian officer called St. Ange accompanied Father Charlevoix on his trip down the Mississippi in 1721. (In his "Historical Journal," or letters to the Duchess de Lesdigieres—letter No. 27—Charlevoix says: "M. de St. Ange who has since very much distinguished himself against the Foxes, commanded my escort.") Fortunately the parish records of Canada have been made accessible through the magnificent Dictionnaire Genealogique of the Abbé Tanguay, and from it we find that the name "St. Ange" occurred in Canada only as a nickname, or "surnom" of one Robert Groston, who was married at Quebec in 1693, and who was then a sergeant in the "Compagnie de Noyan." His bride was Marguerite, daughter of Christopher Crevier, who had already been three times widowed. She was first married to Jacques Fournier, May 14, 1657; second to

Michel Gamelin in 1663; and third to Francois Renou, Aug. 21, 1683. She bore the nickname of "Bellerive." (Tanguay Dict. Geneal., Vol. 4, p. 382.) To this couple were born six sons and two daughters, as appears by the Canadian parish records. Of the sons, Jacques, the third, died in infancy. Joseph, the second, and Dominique, the fifth, married and lived in Canada. But of the eldest, Pierre, christened Nov. 17, 1693; the fourth, Louis, christened Oct. 16, 1698; and the sixth, Louis Daniel, christened Feb. 20, 1702, the Canadian records give no further trace. Obviously Pierre was the one killed in 1736, and Louis was the one who commanded at Vincennes. He probably took on his mother's nickname to distinguish himself from his father, or because his father had survived the doughty Widow Renou and married again, for, as appears by the parish records of Prairie du Rocher,* the name of the Madame St. Ange who survived him was Elizabeth St. Romin. The French indicated a nickname by the word "dit," and it is possible that the St. Ange's themselves may have written it "de" without any thought of false pretense, for our French settlers were no slaves of custom in the matter of spelling. At any rate Louis Groston, dit St. Ange, dit Bellerive, was metamorphosed into Sieur de St. Ange de Bellerive in a permanent way. There was nothing remarkable in this change, for often these French nicknames superseded the original family names, and some of our Vincennes families have lost their original names altogether, and are known only by the nickname of some ancestor. Nor was it uncommon for an official to use his nickname for official signatures and to be so recognized officially. The last commandant at Vincennes was known officially only as "Ste Marie," but his real name was Jean Baptiste Racine. Our St. Ange's did not belong to the king-made nobility of the old world, but they were worthy pioneers in the nobility of America—God-made noblemen of high purposes, who served their generations well; and, incidentally, we may note with satisfaction that "the beautiful bank," which "Bellerive" signifies, was not a financial institution.

But to resume, British rule was not the most serious affiiction of the clergy of the upper country. Following the suppression of the Jesuits in France, on June 9, 1763, the Superior Council of Louisiana issued a decree suppressing the Jesuits in the Province, forbidding their performance of religious functions, ordering all their property except the personal clothing and books of the priests to be seized and sold at auction, and the priests themselves to be expelled from the country. Fathers Watrin, Aubert and Meurin were turned out of their homes and sent down the river and Father Devernai was brought over from Vincennes and sent with them. The provisions and other property of the missions were seized and sold. (Jesuit Relations, Vol. 70, p. 281.) It must be confessed that this was a high-handed proceeding, at least as to the country north of the Ohio, which

* The present population of Prairie du Rocher, and many others, pronounce this name as if it were Prairie du Roche. This is merely an instance of the inveterate French habit of abbreviation, which gave us "Okas" for Kaskaskia, "Okos" for Cahokia, and "Opee" for Peoria. The name could not have been Prairie du Roche originally, because Roche is a feminine noun, and therefore would have been Prairie de la Roche. The final syllable of Rocher was formerly sounded, for Clark, who usually spelled phonetically, wrote it "Paraderushi."

had been ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Paris on Feb. 10, 1763; but King Pontiac was preventing the British from taking possession; and the Jesuit priests were bundled on to the "Minerve" and shipped to France on Feb. 6, 1764, excepting Father de la Morinie, who was allowed to remain until spring, and Father Meurin. The latter insisted on returning to the Illinois country, which had been left almost destitute of clergymen, and was finally permitted to do so on signing an obligation to recognize no superior but the Superior of the Capuchins at New Orleans, and to hold no communication with Quebec or Rome.

It was indeed a deserted land to which Father Meurin returned, for not the Jesuits alone were gone. In 1698, when the missionary fever was on, the Seminary of Quebec, which was an outgrowth of the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Paris, had been given a grant of land at Cahokia, to found a residence for their mission to the Tamaroas at that point. This had been reconfirmed in 1717. In 1763 this post was held by the Rev. Francois Forget Duverger, a priest of the Foreign Missions. When he saw the country ceded to the English, and the Jesuits expelled, he sold all the property of the Seminary at Cahokia—house, land, mill, implements and slaves—notwithstanding the protests of his parishioners, and went down the river with the exiled Jesuits. The only priests then left in the upper country were two Franciscans at Ft. Chartres—Father Hippolyte and Father Luke Collet—and of these the former withdrew in 1764, and the latter died on Sept. 10, 1765— a month before the formal surrender of the fort to Capt. Stirling by Capt. Louis St. Ange.

Without means, and without expectation beyond the promise of the Louisiana authorities to solicit from the court an allowance of about $120 a year for his support, Father Meurin made his way up the Mississippi and went to work. The task was too great for one man, and with poignant grief he saw both French and Indian converts slipping away from the restraints of the church. He appealed for aid to New Orleans, to Quebec, to Paris, and to Philadelphia, but for some time with little success. On Jan, 21, 1776, Rev. Olivier Briand was confirmed Bishop of Quebec—the office having been vacant since the death of Bishop Pontbriand on June 8, 1760. The new bishop entered actively on the work of rehabilitating his demoralized see, but he did not get to take up his western domain for some months. In 1767 Father Meurin wrote to him: "This Illinois country consists of only six villages, each of about fifty to sixty homes, not including a considerable number of slaves. These villages, on account of their distance and situation, would each require a priest, especially in the English part—the parish of the Immaculate Conception at the Kaskaskias, that of St. Joseph at Prairie du Rocher (which is only a succursal of St. Anne at Fort Chartres, now abandoned by the inhabitants), and the parish of the Holy Family of the Kaokias or Tamaroas, and the Indians. It is twenty-five leagues from the first village to the last. On the French or Spanish side beyond the river are situated the village of Ste Genevieve, title of St. Joachim, on which depend la Saline and the mines, and thirty leagues higher up the new village of St. Louis which is made up of the remnants of St. Philip

and Fort Chartres. These two villages are as large as the former in inhabitants or in red and black slaves. St. Joachim or St. Genevieve is my residence, as it was stipulated in the conditions for my return to this country. From it I come every spring and visit the other villages for Easter-tide. I return again in the autumn and whenever I am summoned on sick calls. This is all my infirmities and my means enable me to do, and this displeases and prejudices the people at St. Genevieve, who alone maintain and support me, and they complain of it. In this state the people, and especially the children and slaves, lack sufficient instruction, and, deprived of a pastor's vigilance, they are insensibly losing piety, and giving themselves up to vice.

"There are still many families here in which religion prevails, and who justly fear it will die out with them. They join me in beseeching you to take compassion on their children, and to send them at least two or three priests, if your Lordship cannot send four or five, who would be necessary, one of them with the title of Vicar General of your Lordship.

"I endeavor to keep up the use of the public offices and prayers in my absence, to aid them to sanctify Sundays and holydays. There are many already who no longer come to church, or come only to show disrespect. Some, indocile or insolent, say openly enough that I have no authority, that I am not their pastor, that I have no right to give them advice, and that they are not obliged to listen to me. They would not have dared to speak so while Messrs. Stirling and Farmer were commandants. Under the rule of these two, no one dared commit the least disrespect.

"For the last year St. Anne's Church has been without roof or doors, etc.

"The post of Vincennes on the Wabash among the Miami-Pinghichias, is as large as our best villages here, and needs a missionary even more. Disorders have always prevailed there; but have increased in the last three years. Some come here to be married or to perform their Easter duty. The majority cannot or will not. The guardian of the church publishes the banns for three Sundays. He gives certificates to those who are willing to come here, whom I publish myself before marrying them. Those who are unwilling to come here, declare their mutual consent aloud in the church. Can such a marriage be allowed?" (Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll, pp. 115-117.)

The keeper of the church here referred to was Etienne Phillibert, the village notary, who kept the church record in the absence of a priest, and gave private baptism to infants. He was commonly known by his nickname, "Orleans." He died April 25, 1786.

In the second letter to Bishop Briand, on May 9, 1767, Father Meurin wrote: "I am only sixty-one years old; but I am exhausted, broken down by twenty-five years mission work in this country, and of these nearly twenty years of malady and disease show me the gates of death. * * * I am incapable of long application or of bodily fatigue. I cannot therefore supply the spiritual necessities of this country, where the stoutest man could not long suffice, especially as

the country is intersected by a very rapid and dangerous river. It would need four priests. If you can give only one, he should be appointed for Kaokia."

In June Bishop Briand sent a message of cheer in reply, appointing Father Meurin his Vicar-General for all the Illinois country. On Aug. 7, he sent another, promising two priests in the spring, and with this inclosed Father Meurin's commission as Vicar-General, and a pastoral letter addressed to "the inhabitants of Kaskaskia" but directed to be read in all the churches, exhorting the people to return to their duty and to give obedience to Vicar-General Meurin. This appointment came to the ears of Rocheblave, then commandant at New Orleans, who forbade Meurin to exercise any functions west of the Mississippi, and also issued a decree proscribing him, and ordering his arrest for recognizing a foreign authority in Spanish territory.

To the aid of this lone Jesuit, who was upholding the cross in the Upper Mississippi Valley, Father Pierre Gibault was sent in the spring of 1768. He was of an old Canadian family, his great grandfather, "Gabriel Gibaut, dit Poitevin," a native of Poictiers, France, having been married at Quebec, Oct. 30, 1667. His father and his grandfather, both of whom bore the same name of Pierre Gibaut (The Abbé Tanguay uses this spelling of the family name, and treats Gibault, Gibeau, etc., as variations), were natives of Canada. His mother's maiden name was Marie-Joseph St. Jean. His parents were married Nov. 14, 1735, at Sorel, and he, the eldest son, was christened on April 7, 1737, at Montreal. After his primary schooling, and some travel in the western wilds, he was educated in theology at the Seminary of Quebec, and, by an odd coincidence, the expense of his education was paid out of a remnant of the Cahokia Mission property, which had been invested as a "rente" or mortgage annuity of 333 livres a year, on the Hotel de Ville. He was ordained at Quebec on the feast of St. Joseph, March 19, 1768. He celebrated his first mass on the following day, in the Ursuline Church, and served for a short time in the Cathedral at Quebec, after which he set out for the Illinois country. His journey was delayed by adverse weather but he reached Michilimackinac in July, and put in a week there, confessing the voyageurs and converted Indians, baptizing the children, and blessing one marriage.

It was intended that he should locate at Cahokia, but on reaching the place a change of plans was made. Kaskaskia was the principal settlement, and the people there wanted the young priest, while the people of Cahokia wanted the veteran, so Father Meurin located there, taking charge also of Prairie du Rocher, and Father Gibault took up his residence at Kaskaskia, his first recorded service there being a baptism on Sept. 8, 1768.

Soon after arriving at Kaskaskia, Father Gibault was attacked by the ague, which was always prevalent there, and had a long and enervating struggle with it; but he kept on incessantly with his pastoral work. By his efforts he not only succeeded in getting the people to attend to their church duties but also to pay their tithes, which, according to the Canadian usage, were one-twenty-sixth of the produce, instead of one-tenth, but yet gave good support to the clergy in the

times of the virgin fertility of the soil. He also attended to the spiritual wants of the Missouri settlements, from which Father Meurin was debarred, and in 1769 blessed the little chapel which the settlers had erected at St. Louis. In the same year, evidently at the desire of Father Meurin, Bishop Briand made him Vicar-General for this region. It was not until the winter of 1769-70 that he reached Vincennes, and then through peril; for hostile Indians beset the settlements, and twenty-two of the people had fallen victims to them since he reached the country. Shea says that "the frontier priest always, in these days of peril, carried a gun and two pistols," so that Maurice Thompson's description of the armament of "Father Beret," in "Alice of Old Vincennes," has historical basis. Father Gibault reached the little post in safety, and in a letter to Bishop Briand, after deploring the vices and disorder that prevailed there, he says:

"However, on my arrival, all crowded down to the banks of the River Wabash to receive me, some fell on their knees, unable to speak; others could speak only in sobs; some cried out: 'Father, save us, we are almost in hell;' others said: 'God has not then yet abandoned us, for He has sent you to us to make us do penance for our sins. * * * Oh sir, why did you not come sooner, my poor wife, my dear father, my dear mother, my poor child, would not have died without the sacraments." (Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll, p. 128.)

For two months, Father Gibault remained at Vincennes, and not only revived the faith of the Catholics, but also brought into the fold a Presbyterian family which had settled there. The parishioners gave earnest of their zeal by erecting a new church—a wooden structure that was occupied for some fifteen years, (The somewhat more substantial church which followed this one was also erected through the efforts of Father Gibault. Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll, p. 470.) and when he set out for Kaskaskia a guard of twenty men accompanied him across the Illinois prairies.

On his return he found the Spanish in possession of the region west of the Mississippi, but with no priests. He ministered to them until 1772, when Father Dagobert, Superior of the Capuchins at New Orleans sent Father Valentine as parish priest to St. Louis and, in the next year, Father Hilary to Ste. Genevieve. This left Father Gibault free to devote his time to the country east of the river, but that occupied him fully, for Father Meurin, was old and feeble, and in 1774 a crushing message came to him from New Orleans in the news that Pope Clement XIV had suppressed the Society of Jesus. In the whole Valley of the Mississippi Father Meurin, who had labored so faithfully there, was the only priest affected by the Brief of Suppression; and he, who had kept on with his work for more than a decade without local or provincial superior, now threw himself on the mercy of Bishop Briand, and wrote to him: "Free, I would beseech and beg your charitable goodness to be a father to me, and admit absolutely among the number of your clergy, instead of an auxiliary as I have been since February 1, 1742. I should deem myself happy, if, in the little of life left me, I could repair the cowardice and negli-

gence of which I have been guilty in the space of thirty-three years. If you will adopt me, I am sure you will pardon me and ask mercy for me." (Life of Archbishop Carroll, p. 129.)

In 1775 Father Gibault visited Canada, and on his return reached Michilimackinac in September. After waiting a month without finding opportunity to reach the Illinois, he returned for the winter to Detroit, making the journey in a canoe, with great peril and suffering. He wrote from Detroit, on Dec. 4, to Bishop Briand: "The suffering I have undergone between Michilimackinac and this place has so deadened my faculties that I only half feel my chagrin at being unable to proceed to the Illinois. I shall do my best not to be useless at Detroit, and to relieve the two venerable old priests who attend it." (Life of Archbishop Carroll, p. 130.) He had visited Vincennes in March 1775, and did not reach that point again until the summer of 1777, Phillibert officiating in lay capacity in the meantime.

The Revolutionary War was now under way, and the harassing of the frontiers by Indian allies of the British led to the memorable expedition of George Rogers Clark. Imagination could hardly picture anything more desperate than this undertaking. With a force of less than 200 men (English, Conquest of the Northwest, Vol. 1, p. 154.) and a military chest supplied only with 8,000 pounds sterling of almost worthless Virginia scrip, he marched into the Northwest. It was evident that he could succeed only through the friendship and coöperation of the French settlers, and Clark realized it. And of all of these, now that their old military leaders were gone, no man's influence was so important as that of Father Gibault, who for ten years had ministered to the spiritual wants of the people, had advised them in their business and other affairs, had baptized their children, had given consolation to their sick, had buried their dead. The astute American leader understood this, and was well pleased when after the capture of Kaskaskia, the priest came with half-a-dozen elderly citizens to ask the privilege of assembling the people in the church that they might prepare for their separation. He extended a little hope, and was not surprised when, after spending some time at the church, the delegation returned, with Father Gibault at its head. Says Clark, in his memoir: "They remained a considerable time in the church, after which the priest and many of the principal men came to me to return thanks for the indulgence shown them, and begged permission to address me further on the subject that was more dear to them than anything else; that their present situation was the fate of war; that the loss of their property they could reconcile; but were in hopes that I would not part them from their families; and that the women and children might be allowed to keep some of their clothes and a small quantity of provisions." This was the point of depression at which Clark was prepared to act. He says: "I asked them very abruptly whether or not they thought they were speaking to savages; that I was certain they did from the tenor of their conversation. Did they suppose that we meant to strip the women and children, or take the bread out of their mouths or that we would condescend to make war on the women or children or the church? It was to prevent the effusion of innocent blood by the Indians, through the instigation of their

commanders' emissaries, that caused us to visit them, and not the prospect of plunder; that as soon as that object was attained we should be perfectly satisfied; that as the King of France joined the Americans, there was a probability of there shortly being an end of the war (this information very apparently affected them.) They were at liberty to take which side they pleased, without any dread of losing their property or having their families destroyed. As for their church, all religions would be tolerated in America, and so far from our intermeddling with it, that any insult offered to it should be punished; and to convince them that we were not savages and plunderers, as they had conceived, that they might return to their families and inform them that they might conduct themselves as usual, with all freedom and without apprehensions of any danger."

This declaration relieved all fear, and the town was soon in a noisy demonstration of joy and gratitude. And the effect was lasting, for the French volunteered to go to Cahokia and induce their friends there to join the American cause, and in a few days the Illinois settlements were peopled with men who had taken the oath of allegiance to the American colonies.

In his broad promise of religious toleration Clark was perhaps wiser than even he realized, for the church had suffered under British rule. Of course, the French authorities of Louisiana were responsible for the expulsion of the Jesuits, but it had occurred after the country had been subject to Great Britain. Moreover, church property, and especially that of the Seminary at Cahokia, which had been unlawfully disposed of, had not been restored. The English commandants were repeatedly asked to restore the Cahokia mission property, but refused to do so, and Gibault was never able to carry out his instructions from the Bishop of Quebec in regard to it. Moreover, Clark states in his letter to Mason that Gibault, in his recent visit to Canada had become somewhat acquainted with the issues between Great Britain and the colonies, and "was rather prejudiced in favor of us." He further states that when the declaration of religious freedom was made to Gibault, it "seemed to complete his happiness." Certainly Gibault was heart and soul with the Americans from that time forward. He promoted the movement for bringing all the French of the Illinois settlements into allegiance; he volunteered to go to Post Vincennes and win over the people there; in company with Dr. Lefont he made this journey, administered the oath of allegiance to the French settlers, secured possession of the fort, and urged the Indians to take sides with the Americans as the French were doing. After Hamilton had recaptured Vincennes, when Clark started on his desperate winter march to retake it, Gibault made a patriotic address to the troops, and gave his blessing to them and their enterprise. Perhaps even more important were his services in a financial way for he publicly sold his own property to the Americans, accepting for it Virginia scrip at face value, and by his example he induced the French settlers and merchants to do the same. Judge Law did not at all overestimate Gibault's services when he said, "To him, next to Clark and Vigo, the United States are more indebted for

the accession of the states comprised in what was the original northwestern territory than to any other man." (History of Vincennes, p. 55.)

There is perhaps a better measure of Father Gibault's sacrifices for the American cause in the testimony of his enemies than in that of his friends, for the British recognized the damage he had done to them ever more keenly than the Americans recognized the service to their cause. Immediately after hearing of Clark's capture of Kaskaskia, Hamilton sent a dispatch with the information, in which he said: "The rebels have sent a detachment with an officer to Cahokia to receive the submission of the inhabitants, and the person who brought the account has no doubt but those of St. Vincennes are by this time summoned, as a French priest named Gibault had his horse ready saddled to proceed there, from Cahokia. with design to act as agent for the rebels. This Ecclesiastic is a fellow of infamous morals. and I believe very capable of acting such a part." (Griffin's Am. Cath. Hist. Researches, Vol. 8, No. 4, (Oct. 1891) p. 186.) In the year after Gen. Hamilton had retaken Vincennes, a half-dozen of the French militia, having deserted him, he wrote: "One of the deserters was a brother to Gibault, the priest, who had been an active agent for the rebels and whose vicious and immoral conduct was sufficient to do infinite mischief in a country where ignorance and bigotry give full scope to the depravity of a licentious ecclesiastic. This wretch it was who absolved the French inhabitants from their allegiance to the King of Great Britain. To enumerate the vices of the inhabitants would be to give a long catalogue, but to assert that they are not in possession of a single virtue is no more than truth and justice require; still the most eminently vicious and scandalous was the Reverend Monsieur Gibault." (English, Conquest of the Northwest, Vol. 1, p. 242.)

These bursts of wrath from the "hair-buying general" would be almost amusing were it not that the slander here uttered was persistently repeated, and worked most serious injury to the victim. In 1779 Lt. Gov. St. Clair reported: "General Carlton and the Bishop sent up one Gibou, a priest, on a mission for reasons best known to themselves, the part which he at present takes in the rebel interest and may hereafter improve upon, requires in my humble opinion a *mandate from Mon Seigneur for his appearance at Quebec.* His conduct will certainly justify me to the General in making this representation, and I do it to avoid any future severity which may, by means of Indians, be necessary to direct against an individual of the sacred and respectable clergy. He removes to the Spanish and this side of the Mississippi occasionally, and may be addressed at the Cascaskies." (Letter of Lt. Gov. St. Clair to Capt. Brehm, dated Oct. 15, 1779. Haldimand papers—quoted in Am. Cath. Hist. Researches, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Jan. 1888) p. 52.) In 1780, perhaps in pursuance of this suggestion, the Bishop of Quebec ordered him to present himself and answer certain accusations that had been made against him. (Records of the American Catholic Historical Soc., Vol. 12, p. 488. Miss Peyton's prize essay.) The exact character of the accusation is not known, and it appears that the order was not pressed, for Gibault did

not go to Quebec, though he made defense by letter in 1786 to the charges accumulated to date. In his letter of June 6, of that year, he gave the old and simple answer, "The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me"—putting it in these words:

"To all the pains and hardships I have undergone in my different journeys to most distant points, winter and summer, attending so many villages in Illinois distant from each other, in all weathers, night and day, snow or rain, wind, storm or fog on the Mississippi, so that I never slept four nights in a year in my own bed, never hesitating to start at a moment's notice, whether sick or well, how can a priest who sacrifices himself in this way, with no other view than God's glory, and the salvation of his neighbor, with no pecuniary reward, almost always ill-fed, unable to attend to both spiritual and temporal needs; how, I say, can you know such a priest zealous to fulfill the duties of his holy ministry, careful to watch over his flock, instruct them in the most important tenets of religion, instruct the young unceasingly and untiringly not only in Christian doctrine but teaching the boys to read and write, as one who gives scandal, and is addicted to intoxication?" (Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll, p. 470.)

All the evidence existing confirms this statement, and indicates that these charges were utterly unfounded. His own letters bear testimony. In this same year he writes to Bishop Briand from Vincennes: "I should be well enough pleased with the people, were it not for the wretched liquor trade which I cannot eradicate, and which compels me to refuse the sacraments to several, for the Indians commit horrible disorders when in liquor." (Life of Archbishop Carroll, p. 470.) These were indeed strange sentiments for a man "addicted to intoxication"—a man who carried his temperance reform work to the extent of refusing the sacraments of the church to a liquor dealer who refused to submit to regulation.

But Father Gibault's good character has other witnesses. Father Meurin, himself a post-graduate in the hardships of missionary life, had always the warmest commendation for his assistant. He wrote: "M. Gibault is full of zeal, and for this reason he cannot last long, unless it pleases our God to renew ancient miracles; he has often to go on perilous journeys, across woods and mountains, exposed to weather, rivers and torrents. M. Gibault, since his arrival in this country, has always been sick of fevers—first great and dangerous, then slight and slow,—against which his courage has always sustained him so that he could perform his duties in the parish of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia." (Records of Am. Cath. Hist. Soc., Vol. 12, p. 472.) That his superiors held him in esteem is conclusively shown by his retention as Vicar-General by the Bishop of Quebec so long as this region was in his jurisdiction. It is unquestionable that his people had high regard for him, and it is notable that in one of the few printed documents of the Illinois country of this period—a pamphlet printed about 1772, urging better government, the establishment of schools, etc.—is found the testimonial. "We have had a long experience of the exemplary piety and virtue of our worthy Fathers Meurin and Gibault." (Quoted in Life of Arch-

bishop Carroll, p. 132.) In the face of this evidence no one can credit such charges with so evident a source of malevolence in plain view. Nevertheless the reiterated slander had some effect, and it was added to by a peculiar complication. After the treaty with Great Britain at the close of the Revolutionary war, the authorities at Rome made the church in the United States independent of the diocese of London; and in 1784 John Carroll of Baltimore, was made Prefect Apostolic for the United States, and, in 1790, Bishop of a diocese including them. He naturally assumed that the Illinois country was in his jurisdiction, and appointed Rev. Huet de la Valiniere his Vicar-General for the region. But Detroit and the country about the lakes was still held by the British, and the Bishop of Quebec still exercised control there. Neither Bishop Briand nor his successor, Bishop Hubert relieved Father Gibault of his responsibility as Vicar-General, and as he declined to give way without orders from his superior, a double spiritual rule ensued and continued until 1791, when Father Gibault withdrew from Cahokia, where he had been officiating, and retired to the Spanish territory west of the Mississippi. It is quite probable that this withdrawal was partly due to Father Gibault's treatment by the United States authorities.

In the spring of 1790, Congress having ordered donations of lands to those who had served in the militia, Father Gibault asked for a small return for his services. His letter addressed to Gov. St. Clair is well known, and there is a simple pathos in its recitation of his sacrifice of 7,800 livres in goods and money to aid Clark, not a cent of which had been repaid, of the straits to which he had been reduced on this account, of his hope that justice would be done, and of his continued service to the United States. He says, "The love of his country and of liberty has also led your memorialist to reject all of the advantages offered him by the Spanish government; and he endeavored by every means in his power, by exertions and exhortations, and by letters to the principal inhabitants, to retain every person in the dominion of the United States in expectation of better times, and giving them to understand that our lives and property, having been employed twelve years in the aggrandizement and preservation of the United States, would at last receive acknowledgment, and be compensated by the enlightened and upright ministers, who sooner or later would come to examine into and relieve our situation." He asked for the old Cahokia mission property, about five acres, the title to which had been unsettled for so long that nobody seemed to have any claim to it. (Am. State Papers, Pub. Lands, Vol. 1, p. 21.) But, unfortunately for his hopes, St. Clair had no authority to make such a grant, and reported the request to Washington, saying, "I believe no injury would be done to anyone by his request being granted, but it was not for me to give away the lands of the United States." (Am. State Papers, Pub. Lands, Vol. 1, p. 14.)

Shea states that this request was granted, but that Bishop Carroll entered a protest against the proposal to convey church property to an individual, and "apparently in consequence the Rev. Mr. Gibault left the Diocese of Baltimore and retired to the Spanish territory beyond the Mississippi." (Life of Archbishop Carroll, p. 472.) I find

no basis for this statement. It is hardly possible that Bishop Carroll could have interposed while the matter was in Governor St. Clair's hands, and if he had St. Clair would probably have mentioned it. No one else had any authority to make the donation except Congress, and there is nothing to indicate any movement in that direction by Congress. It was a case of seeking relief from a wrong source, a mistake natural enough to one accustomed to the plenary power of the French commandants, who made all the land grants in the olden time. There is mention made in a list of allotments to "heads of families" which had never been confirmed, but which "ought to be confirmed," of one to Pierre Gibault, but the owner of the claim at the time was John Rice Jones, to whom the original allottee had evidently been obliged by his necessities, to sell his claim, and if the claim was ever confirmed, it, of course, was to Jones.[1]

1—American State Papers, Public Lands, II, 229.

It has also been commonly stated by historians that Father Gibault received a "concession" of a small tract of land in Vincennes from Secretary Winthrop Sargent, the impression being given that this was a donation from the government. This is entirely erroneous. Sargent, as well as St. Clair, acted under the congressional resolution of August 29, 1788, which, among other things, provided for "confirming in their possessions and titles, the French and Canadian inhabitants and other settlers at Post St. Vincents who, on or before the year 1783 had settled there, and had professed themselves citizens of the United States, or any of them and for laying off to them, at their own expense, the several tracts which they rightfully claim, and which may have been allotted to them according to the laws and usages of the government under which they have respectively settled." (Jounals of Congress, Vol. 4, p. 858.)

This was a legal obligation on the United States, expressly imposed by the deed of cession from Virginia, which stipulated that the private property rights of the French settlers should be protected. Sargent included this lot of Gibault's in his list of the "ancient rights" that were to be surveyed "at the expense of the proper claimants;" and the only "concession" he made was the concession that Father Gibault had shown by legal evidence that he was the owner of, and entitled to possession of it.

But even this confirmation of ancient titles, which was intended as an act of justice, was in reality a serious hardship to the French settlers, and Gibault and eighty-seven others united in a protest to the government against it. In this document they maintained that the order was neither necessary nor judicious, saying: "It does not appear necessary, because, from the establishment of the colony to this day, they have enjoyed their property and possessions without disputes or lawsuits on the subject of their limits; that the surveys of them were made at the time the concessions were obtained from their ancient kings, lords and commandants; and that each of them knew what belonged to him, without attempting an encroachment on his neighbor, or fearing that his neighbor would encroach on him. It does not appear adapted to pacify them, because, instead of assuring to them the peaceable possession of their ancient inheritance, as they

have enjoyed it till now, that clause obliges them to bear expenses which, in their present situation, they are absolutely incapable of paying, and for the failure of which they must be deprived of their lands.

"Your excellency is an eye-witness of the poverty to which the inhabitants are reduced, and of the total want of provisions to subsist on. Not knowing where to find a morsel of bread to nourish their families, by what means can they support the expense of a survey which has not been sought for on their parts, and for which it is conceived by them there is no necessity? Loaded with misery, and groaning under the weight of misfortunes, accumulated since the Virginia troops entered their country, the unhappy inhabitants throw themselves under the protection of your excellency, and take the liberty to solicit you to lay their deplorable situation before Congress; and, as it may be interesting for the United States to know exactly the extent and limits of their ancient possessions, in order to ascertain the lands which are yet at the disposal of Congress, it appears to them, in their humble opinion, that the expense of survey ought more properly to be borne by Congress, for whom alone it is useful, than by them who do not feel the necessity of it." (Am. State Papers, Public Lands, Vol. 1, p. 16.)

This may seem a dark picture, but it is not overdrawn. Even nature seemed to have turned against these people, and floods, frosts and droughts ruined their crops. There was actual famine. People lost their lives by eating poisonous roots to satisfy their hunger. Gov. St. Clair and Major Hamtramck not only testified to the facts, but furnished corn from the government supplies to the starving people. (Dunn's Indiana, pp. 268-9.) In truth, our French friends fared hardly under American rule, and none so badly as Father Gibault, who did not get any return in land as a militiaman or the head of a family, and lost his ecclesiastical support on account of the change of jurisdiction. He never received a particle of compensation from Virgiana or the United States for his services, and he never received one cent of repayment for money and goods actually furnished to our troops. The situation seems almost incredible, but it was a horrible reality. The French claimants had neither the knowledge nor the pecuniary ability to press their claims, and there was no one to do it for them. In truth, the situation of the French settlers justifies this conclusion of President Roosevelt:

"The conquest of the Illinois Territory was fraught with the deepest and most far-reaching benefits to all the American people; it likewise benefited, in at least an equal degree, the boldest and most energetic among the French inhabitants, those who could hold their own among freemen, who could swim in troubled waters; but it may well be doubted whether to the mass of the ignorant and simple creoles it was not a curse rather than a blessing." (Winning of the West, Vol. 2, p. 185.)

To Sargent's credit be it said that on July 31, 1790, he wrote to the President: "I must take the liberty of representing to Congress, by desire of the citizens of this country, and as a matter which I humbly conceive they should be informed of, that there are, not only at this

place (Vincennes) but in the several villages upon the Mississippi, considerable claims for supplies furnished troops of Virginia, before and since 1783, which no person yet has been authorized to attend to, and which is very injurious to the interest and feelings of men who seem to have been exposed to a variety of distresses and impositions by characters pretending to have acted under the orders of that government."

This was sent to Congress, but nothing was done. It is not surprising that after years of weary waiting Father Gibault at length abandoned the country of his choice and went to the Spanish settlements beyond the Mississippi, where he might at least hope to avoid starvation. Of his life after that time the fullest information collected is by the Rev. J. Sasseville, curé of the Parish of Ste. Foye, near Quebec, who says: "In 1790, M. Gibault still resided at the parish of Cahokia, as the date in his memoir indicates. The registers of this parish still bear his signature the following year, when he disappeared without ever returning. In the archives of the Archbishop of St. Louis, we find that M. Gibault gave a mission among the Arkansas in 1792 and 1793, and that this same year he was nominated pastor of New Madrid in the southern part of the State of Missouri. This is the last trace we have of him. My final researches have been unsuccessful. It is certain that he died at New Madrid in the end of the last century or at the beginning of the present." (Lambing's Catholic Historical Researches, Vol. 2, p. 118.) Shea says that he died at New Madrid in 1804. (Life of Archbishop Carroll, p. 596.) Unfortunately the old parish records of New Madrid were destroyed by fire during the Civil War, and it may now be impossible to ascertain the date with certainty. The probability is, as stated by Edmond Mallet that he passed his last days "in unmerited poverty and obscurity among his compatriots of the Mississippi Valley, and that his ashes repose in the land which he illumined by his charity and patriotism. The Republic may yet repair its neglect of this great patriot, and the Great West may yet erect a monument to his memory. Be that as it may, his name must ever be cherished by American Catholics as one of the foremost of those glorious heroes of the faith who merited well of their country during the struggle for American Independence." ("Very Rev. Pierre Gibault, the Patriot Priest of the West," in Washington Catholic, September 30, 1882. By an evidently erroneous citation of this article, Mr. Shea does a great injustice to its author by charging him with holding Father Gibault responsible for executions for witchcraft in the Illinois country. Life of Archbishop Carroll, p. 190. There is absolutely no reference to the subject in the article. I have never found the charge anywhere except in Roosevelt's Winning of the West, Vol. 2, p. 175. It is there based on an inferential argument that is very far from being conclusive.)

It is cause for congratulation that the Illinois State Historical Society has taken up the task of seeing that a suitable memorial is given to this American patriot, for one may well question whether we of this generation have room to criticise our predecessors, his contemporaries, for their neglect. True they neglected him in his life, but we have neglected him in the tomb. They were more closely acquainted

with his great and unquestionable services, but they who knew this region as the wilderness of more than a century ago had no conception of the magnitude of those services as have we, who know to-day the empire he contributed so largely to give us. We realize, as they did not, that his service to our country was not only in the aid given to Clark, but also in the long life of arduous labor for the welfare of the people and the reclamation of the fertile land we enjoy, and yet we have let the record of those labors lie in our midst unpublished, almost inaccessible, and in danger of destruction by fire—as occurred to the parish records of New Madrid and Pensacola—or from other cause. And we have done this to our own hurt, for we profess to be interested in the history of this region, and yet we have spent years puzzling over questions that would be readily answered if the ancient records of the parishes in which Father Gibault officiated were published. I have mentioned how we have stumbled and groped in the dark in the case of the St. Ange family, and how even now we lack information concerning them that lies within our reach. This is but one of many cases. Indiana historians blundered for years concerning William Clark, one of the first judges of the Territorial Court of Indiana. Some confused him with William Clark, a prominent land surveyor of the territory. Some confused him with William Clark, brother of George Rogers Clark, and subsequently of the celebrated Lewis and Clark expedition. At length Hon. W. H. English thought to have an investigation made of the parish records of Vincennes, and there was found the record of his death and burial, fully explaining the mystery. (Conquest of the Northwest, Vol. 2, p. 1015.)

Moreover, while the Eastern states are collecting and publishing all the information that can be obtained concerning their revolutionary soldiers, shall we neglect this mine of information concerning the revolutionary soldiers of this region who served under George Rogers Clark and whose services were recognized and rewarded by their American contemporaries? Do we not owe them something?

It may be thought that the work proposed is large. In reality it is small as compared with the similar work covering all the ancient parish records of Canada, every item of which is made available in the great Genealogical Dictionary of Canada by the Abbé Tanguay. Shall not this generation do its duty to that past generation and to Father Gibault by the publication of a Gibault Memorial Volume which shall include the ancient parish records of this region, and the correspondence from the clergy that lies unpublished in the archives of the Bishop of Quebec? Surely Illinois, Indiana and Missouri owe this much to the man who was Vicar General of this region for twenty years, and who did so much to bring it into the United States.

It may be said that this would be more a service to ourselves than a memorial to him. Not so. We can do him no direct service. In such a situation, confronted by unrequited merit, we may well remember the solemn words:

> "Can storied urn or animated bust
> Back to its mansion call the fleeting breath?
> Can honor's voice provoke the silent dust?
> Can flattery soothe the dull, cold ear of death?

The utmost we can do for Father Gibault is to hold him in grateful memory, and make the record of his service known to the world, that others may do likewise. But if he could speak,—if we could ask him what memorial he would prefer—can we doubt, knowing his life of self-sacrifice and labors for others, that he would answer, "Whatever would most benefit my fellow men." And he would answer rightly, for in that service man attains title to the highest tribute that can be paid to the dead: "He rests from his labors, and his works do follow him."

SOCIAL LIFE AND SCENES IN THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF CENTRAL ILLINOIS.

(By James Haines.)

Our president has asked me to write about "Social Life and Scenes in the Early Settlement of Central Illinois." I should be good authority on this theme as I lived continuously through and was an ardent participant in all its young activities from five years of age up to this my eighty-second year.

INTRODUCTION.

A plain, succinct account of the labors, pursuits, interests, amusements and achievements of common life during a period of nearly thirty years will display about what I wish to lay before my hearers. This survey will bring my comments up to about 1855. And I wish to present it as if a transcript of my young, fresh memory-plates were spread out palpably before you to read from. To do this I know is very difficult. And even if this be fairly done I cannot then hope you will see incidents, events and results as my young, eager eyes and faculties saw and recorded them then.

To give you my impressions of that early time in all their vividness, I cannot hope to do in their fullness. But I may expect better success in reaching your understanding if I place you as nearly as I can in possession of the conditions and surroundings of the early inhabitants of Central Ilinois during this pioneer period which I propose to write about and discuss as intelligently as I can.

For portrait of this condition and the environment my memory is quite the sole authority. Books were not written in this locality then, diaries or records were not kept of current events and even important transactions worthy of local history were not recorded. If such records had been made by the authors and participants in the local history of that time it would be a far easier and more successful task to write and fill with interest and intelligence the story I would fain rehearse for your ears, and the picture I would like to paint to feast your eyes upon, all in illustration of social life and scenes in the early settlement of central Illinois. There were no newspapers at first. Very few at any time—fewer novels and no libraries.

* * * * * * *

It is not the present population of central Illinois whose social life and scenes I wish to portray before you, but that of the pioneer population emigrating to and dwelling there in the early settlement of central Illinois. There was great variety too and disparity in this new-comer population. Gathered as it was from many and widely distant states of the older portions of the union, it would necessarily partake somewhat of each locality whence it came. Dress, manners, language and occupation gave token of the land and race furnishing the supply of individuals to form the mass of population whose social life I wish to describe.

All were common in dress, some rude in manner, few boisterous, mostly quiet in speech and slow in movement, very little refined as now gauged, no learning from books outside the bible, hymn, song, music, and school books. Intercourse between inmates and close relatives, frank, laconic, abrupt, good natured; with acquaintances only, and strangers, inquisitive, genial, tolerant and leading to more intimacy. These characteristics I recall of men mostly. Women conformed in milder degree of each phase of speech, manner and action.

Necessary labor was fairly well performed but little love for it was displayed, except by the women, whose greatest and constant toil was feeding the hungry—cooking, housekeeping, nursing the children and sick—where as ever from first history they were always present, active, patient, successful and pleasing. * * * All females of age to work found constant, useful employment about their cabin homes at the time and place which I am trying to illustrate.

Sheep were raised as much for their wool as for their flesh. Flax and cotton were cultivated too. All these home-grown materials combined to furnish a fairly full supply of home-made clothing for winter and summer. The hunter contingent for the population furnished a useful share of material for the clothing department as well as food supply. Preparation of the clothing material fell largely to the womankind, and after the web was produced cutting, fitting and making the garments for all the family was entirely their work, except moccasins, shoes and boots, which were made by the males of the family, or hired cobblers.

All home-grown cotton had to be ginned by a rude home-made gin of my elder brother's invention and had to be carded by hand-cards as there was no power-driven machinery for that purpose then known to us. Thus production of cotton yarn for cotton cloth became tedious and a heavy draft on labor of the household, and was early abandoned by the new comers. But it was soon afterward quite easily obtained from St. Louis, Mo., by keel boats, Mackinaw boats and pirogues—very large canoes. Home-made cotton yarn was never used by the population I am writing of for warp or length-wise thread of cloth or web, but only for woof, or filling, as more generally designated then. Hence wool and flax became of general use as material for all our clothing and nearly all labor for its production was woman's work.

This added to "house affairs," care of children, nursing the sick, entertaining company, and going to meetings—as church gatherings were called—left little time for females of early Central Illinois to "cultivate and improve their minds" by reading and study of books or practice of literary pursuits. Would not a jury of present day women, on above evidence, excuse them if they failed in examination in "book-larnin" and "the higher education?"

This jury would surely allow them—which I do not—time for dressing. I ought to say something about their dresses—frocks, as then called, and about their dressing—putting these frocks on: but I fear I shall bungle here. As to the frock itself, first: It was composed of wool, flax, cotton, or a combination of two or more of these materials, plain or plaid, relieved with all the colors of the rainbow, in part or whole, as fancy or taste dictated. For vegetable productions of prairie and of forest bark had well supplied all these colors to these embryo chemists seeking color, tint and shade. And these were *fast* colors too, not fading when the garments were cleansed by frequent washings.

Their construction was usually much simpler than their ornamentation by color and stripe. A common garment for all females of working age while working in the cabin home during summer and mild weather was a common, plainly made skirt of "rainy day" length with sleeves attached, made of wool, flax or cotton, put on by slipping it down over the head, fastening to its place by tying a draw-string of cord or tape fairly tight at the throat under the chin. A collar of same or kindred stuff, with plain, scalloped or stitched edge might be added around the neck, and a like draw-string inserted all round the skirt at a point desirable to establish the waist: and tied there like the draw-string round the neck. Puckering string we boys called this device. A few buttons, when obtainable, placed below the chin down the opening in front would complete the garment, and when properly donned would present a fully dressed female equipped for work in her home. This was the work-a-day dress or frock-slip it was usually called. Other and better dresses— frocks, all females of that time usually had, but I feel wholly incompetent to attempt their description before this present day, intelligent, critical and highly artistic audience.

However, dressed in slips or frocks of wool, flax, cotton or tow-linen suitable to her work, occupation or position, the pioneer female of mature age and mind in the early settlement of Central Illinois was the peer of any of her sex in truth, purity, virtue and morality. Great Caesar himself could have sanely and safely chosen a wife there and then, without fear she would fall below his high requirement—"Must be beyond suspicion."

* * * * * * * * * * *

More intimate association between parents and children in the old pioneer days than now and sharing with them by the parents in all important matters of family and life interests increased the kindred ties of blood, affection and love. This strengthened the force of parental control—convincing the children of that over-mastering

power the parental tie, especially as manifested in the mother's love. Children were not spoiled "by sparing the rod" however, as some stings in my memory recall.

Demonstrations not unfrequently witnessed then of the force of these sentiments calls to mind what the same great poet wrote of parental affection near the period we are now considering:

"Some feelings are to mortals given
With less of earth in them than heaven,
And if there be one human fear
From passion's dross refined and clear—
A tear so limpid and so meek
It would not stain an angel's cheek,
'Tis that which pious parents shed
Upon duteous childhood's head."

Perhaps I have given more space and more fatigue to my helpless hearers in praising the female branch of my subject and "magnifying their office" in all good works of the heart and the affections than is justly their due. But I had a mother and five sisters all older and better than I, and it is all from the precious memory of their good deeds, constant care and tenderness for me—the baby of the large family—their innate truth, purity, and active watchful charity and love unfailing for me, that I have been able—inspired—to write this all-too-feeble and faulty tribute to the woman-kind in the early settlement of Central Illinois.

AMUSEMENTS.

Amusements of the time I write about were quite equally distributed between male and female. While the women cultivated the joys and pleasures of the hearth and home and were themselves the authors of their happiness, they fully shared in all their delights and enjoyment. Men had the hunt, the chase, the horse-race, foot-race, the jolly meetings at rude elections, school meetings, muster-meetings, cabin-raisings, road making and road repairing, pitching horse-shoes—instead of quoits, town-ball and bull-pen—quite all to themselves. Women of that day attended none of these rough and exciting sports of men. Foot-ball had not yet come to pollute the purer taste of that day to its brutal grade of barbarity and cruelty.

I had five brothers, all older than I, making me as above stated the baby of the whole family of eleven children. From memory of their work, amusements, conduct, characters, I draw my descriptions of all other like population of the territory and time I try to illustrate before you.

My brothers were all tender, kind, considerate, helpful to all my wants and needs; physical, mental, moral and social. Like conditions and relations I know prevailed in many other families of that time and country, and hence I believe these noble sentiments and worthy characteristics dominated and controlled largely all the population, male and female.

One marked characteristic of all gatherings of these people was interest in each other and care for each other's well fare and comfort, showing a bond of union and of good will. The affection and love

manifested by children for their parents, brothers and sisters, and by the parents for their children, as I have tried to show, existed so generally among the pioneer population, and the good effect it produced on the children in early Central Illinois as compared with conduct of children in the same territory now, lead to the belief there was a latent power ruling in the family then that does not wholly dominate it now. As I call to my memory to give me the clue to this potent ruling force echoes of its name and office come to my ears and kindle response in my heart and impel the tongue to speak, the pen to write, words of the grand poet so often called on in this paper.

> "Love rules the court, the camp, the grove,
> And men below and saints above:
> For love is heaven and heaven is love."

In all gatherings of both sexes of this people while there was levity, jollity, frankness and liberal affection manifested there were few or no sallies or attempts at flirting with the true, pure feelings of the heart, now called *flirting*.

I recall no such word then in use ; perhaps because no such trivial practice then existed to require such odious name. Independent, manly and honorable, the males could not stoop to such trifling conduct, while the females were too pure, too true, too worthy to ask aid from falsehood and deceit. Neither sex feared recognition of all their good qualities and honest claims of merit and had no fear on this point, only the fear of doing wrong and being unworthy of true love and its just reward.

Of such honest, manly and pure womanly characters I have appealed to my youthful memory to give me record, and lo, is it not fairly, though feebly, written above?

MALE DRESS AND BUSINESS HABITS.

Having written freely about female dress, male attire should also have some attention now:

All males of work age dressed nearly alike. Male apparel too, at the time I am writing about, was made almost wholly by the females, the wearers' associates. The common working boy and man, during summer and mild weather, in field, prairie or forest, wore no more than three articles of dress at one time. Hat of plaited rye, oats or wheat-straw; shirt and pants of cotton, flax or tow-linen cloth. All made in simplest, plainest manner, indeed so uniform in style as to claim the title of fashion. Comfort and utility absolutely controlled material, make, and fit of all male garments, whether for summer or winter, hot or cold weather, home or wear abroad. Traveling or local cobblers were utilized for supply of boots and shoes for males and females of all ages. Almost the sole thought controlling change of apparel for male wearers was to suit the weather and work engaged in. Attending meetings of church or other interests had little influence as to dress. Greater cleanliness of apparel was desired when going away from home among strangers.

There was very little time spent in what deserves the name of business as now understood, either private or public. Trade, barter and

exchange of commodities and swapping work in corn-planting and harvest time, for work back in corn-husking and hay-making time, was the only commerce known in very early times. Honest, faithful memory, discarding day book and ledger, held all accounts and recorded balances of money and labor due; and merciful, charitable memory forgot all debts of debtors too poor to pay.

So simple and domestic were all the ways and wants of that early country life. Loafing was yet unknown. That came with earliest saloons for sale of intoxicating liquors, in small towns. They were called groceries, or doggeries then. Road-making, efforts to secure schools or aid church interests, to regulate militia musters and drills, to select the best candidates for elective offices of county, state and nation required only a small portion of time, at command of the ordinary citizen.

As to the last duty, selecting candidates for offices of all kinds and grades, serious attention and ample time were always given and the best, wisest and most competent men were always sought and selected; differing diametrically from the custom of the present-day population of the same district in this most important duty of citizenship in a republic like ours.

The voting citizens of that time seemed more intelligently concerned about a wise use of the ballot. The close of the revolutionary war and the achievement of our independence of England and all other foreign powers, was much fresher in the memories of the voters of that day than now. And the value of liberty, newly and blood-bought, seemed greater to them than to us. The war of 1812 with England had been lately fought in defense of this inestimable liberty, and they had helped to win the victory that would make liberty a permanent possession of our whole country. Hence the revolutionary war and the war of 1812 that demonstrated our ability to defend and maintain our dearly bought rights were the leading and constant themes of thought and discussion. Nobler and more patriotic themes than now absorb and control the whole thought, aim and struggle of our active, strenuous, commercial, money-grabbing voting population. They talked of, admired and sought to imitate the pure patriots, great statesmen and generals who won our independence and established free government by the people for the greatest republic the world has ever known. Pure, noble thoughts and desires indulged by a people will make them strive to achieve and secure their high aspirations and ideals. Such were the early settlers of whom I write.

Elective officers and rulers of our State and its organized counties in these early days have made and left a history that proves the ballot of that time and territory was not only highly esteemed but honestly, wisely and successfully used to secure happiness and prosperity to the vast population that has won third place in our union, for Illinois.

* * * * * * *

SOCIAL SINGING.

Some one esteemed for wisdom said or wrote: If he were allowed to write the songs of a people any one else might make their laws. A

large share of the amusements and entertainments indulged in and practiced by the early population of Central Illinois consisted in social singing of play or forfeit songs, illustrating the evening entertainment of home and fire-side, for girls and boys. Singing of well-known hymns to familiar tunes used at church and religious meetings enlisted the aged also of both sexes. So it often happened after the light and frolic plays of the youth had ended in sale and redemption of all play-forfeits and pawns in affection and hilarity, some elder witness of the youthful jollity would raise a tuneful voice of psalmody, reciting in solemn melody the words of some "Hymn, devout or holy psalm," in which all, young and old, would join to make a benediction to close the evening's entertainment.

I wish to enlarge somewhat on this branch of old fashioned early-time youthful entertainment. Each play or individual entertainment was introduced by a song or words in jingling rhyme sung in chorus by all taking part in the play. These words explained and carried forward as it were, the movement and progress of the play to its own close, when another song for like purpose would start and carry forward another play.

OLD PLAY AND FORFEIT SONGS.

We are marching down towards Old Quebec
  Where the drums are loudly beating,
The Americans have gained the day
  And the British are retreating.

The wars are o'er and we'll turn back
  No more forever to be parted;
We'll open the ring and choose a couple in
  Because they are true-hearted.

2

King William was King James' son
And for the royal race he run,
Upon his breast he wore a star,
That always points to the compass far.

Go choose you east, go choose you west,
Go choose the girl that you love best.
If she is not here to take a part,
Go choose another with all your heart.

Down on this carpet you must kneel
Sure as the grass grows in the field,
Salute your bride and kiss her sweet,
And then arise upon your feet.

3

O, Sister Phoebe how merry were we
That night we sat under the Juniper tree,
    The Juniper tree, heigho.
Put this hat upon your head
  To keep your head warm
And take a sweet kiss,
  It will do you no harm—
It will do you much good—heigho.

4

I won't have any your weevily wheat
I won't have any your barley,
I won't have any your weevily wheat
To make a cake for Charley.

Charley he is a nice young man,
Charley he is a dandy;
Charley likes to kiss the girls
Whenever it comes handy.

5

The needle's eye that doth supply
The thread that runs so truly through,
How many a lass have I let pass
Because I wanted you.

6

There's a rose in the garden
For you young man;
There's a rose in the garden
For you young man
So we'll open the ring and choose one in
And choose you a fair one
Or else choose you none.

7

There is a happy miller
Grinding in the mill;
As the wheel turns round
He's gaining what he will.
One hand is in the hopper
And the other in the bag,
When the wheel turns 'round
He cries out "Grab."

8

It rains and it hails,
And it's cold stormy weather,
When in comes the farmer,
Bringing in the cider.

I'll go a-reaping, boys,
Who'll be the binder?
I have lost my true love
And where shall I find her?

9

Oats, peas, beans and barley grow—
Oats, peas, beans and barley grow—
You nor I but the farmers know
Where oats, peas, beans and barley grow.

Thus the farmer sows his seed,
Thus he stands and takes his ease,
Stamps his foot, and claps his hands,
And whirls around to view his lands.

Sure as grass grows in the field
Down on this carpet you must kneel,
Salute your true love, kiss her sweet,
And rise again upon your feet.

The language, poetic measure and harmony of these songs are woefully irregular in feet—almost lacking whole limbs in some lines. But this infirmity of movement and action in sound and rhythm was quite cured and redeemed by the glib, flippant and jolly notes of the singers as they gushed from their laughing jubilant lips almost smooth and flowing as Lord Byron's Assyrian battle song:

> "The Assyrian came down like the wolf on the fold,
> And his cohorts were gleaming in purple and gold.
> And the sheen of their spears was like stars on the sea
> When the blue wave rolls nightly on deep Gallilee."

These plays were sung and performed around the firesides of the log cabin homes in presence of the family and assembled guests and participants. Each pawn or forfeit of the play was represented by some small article from pocket or dress of its owner, such as a pen-knife, glove or handkerchief and was held over the head of the blind-fold judge or umpire who was supposed not to see it or know who owned it. Intimating thus that justice was blind. Is it not often so still?

The pawn or forfeit was held over the judge's head out of his or her sight and this formula cried aloud: "Heavy, heavy hangs over your head." "Fine or superfine?" came the inquiry of the judge—(Fine meaning boy's, superfine girl's pawn.) Then the penalty was declared. If a boy's forfeit, say: The penalty might be: "Go kneel to the wittiest, bow to the prettiest, and kiss the one you love best." If a girl's pawn perhaps the penalty would be: "Go choose a boy partner and with his aid measure ten yards of tape," as follows: Take one end of the tape between thumb and finger of one hand and draw it between two fingers of the other hand pressed on your lips till your arm is fully extended, then cut it off at your lips with a kiss to your partner on his lips, loud and clear so all can hear to the end of ten yards, each yard cut off with a hearty, distinct smack.

Innumerable like penalties were thus imposed and infinite jollity and amusement produced for all present. Our present 400 of best society would be shocked at the present day by such rude, vulgar behavior between girls and boys, yet evil results did not follow these innocent entertainments of that earlier time in our social history.

Children, boys and girls, were more obedient and respectful to their parents and guardians, chaste and moral then than now, while leading single lives; and divorce and disagreement after almost universal marriage were quite unknown instead of quite usual as now, when the dance, refined, elegant and intellectual amusements prevail among our better educated, more polite and accomplished citizens, male and female. And I believe parents suffered far less then than now from that sorrow of sorrows which Shakespeare describes as, "How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is to have a thankless child."

OTHER AMUSEMENTS.

Pioneers, old settlers, new-comers of central Illinois were generally a jolly, hilarious, happy population, manifesting their disposition by speech and action. One early and long resident I recall as remarkable for his social greetings and conversation with familiar friends.

On meeting such after long separation he would manifest his delight by declaring he "would rather see them than his own heart's blood." Or if speaking of death he would wish its delay for him, and when it must come he "hoped he might be kissed to death by pretty girls and die laughing."

Odd pronunciation of many English and most foreign words made cause of pleasantry to the few able to detect the erroneous pronunciation and accent. Necessity was quite frequently rendered needcessity and vehicle, vichle; catastrophe, catisfere; faux pas [pas] fox pox. Rude, unlearned, almost barbarous though this pronunciation was, those who perpetrated it knew as well the real meaning of these mutilated, tortured words in this shape as did the most polite Frenchman or learned Englishman when they were pronounced according to the latest standard of the French or English tongue.

SCHOOLS AND RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

The first new-comers found no school houses and could not build any for many years. The same was true of church buildings. Schools and church meetings had to be held in private homes. School teachers and preachers were very scarce, too. My father hired a Yankee girl about 18 years old, fresh from Vermont, to come to our house and teach "us children," six or seven in number, till school houses were built and regular school teachers employed, under whom we "finished our education." A very limited one indeed, covering the "elements of the three R's," with a smattering of geography and history thrown in as a kind of dessert after the feast of other commoner studies.

Preachers and exhorters were plentier than school teachers, and found ready welcome in every cabin home where they held religious and prayer meetings for attending neighbors and strangers. Methodists and Baptists predominated here then. The singing master soon invaded Central Illinois, too. His classes were gathered from the elder children and youth verging into manhood and womanhood, and added largely to the higher grade of social amusements for youth and age as well.

TIES OF BLOOD KINDRED.

"Blood is thicker than water" we quote as an adage now, but we practiced the precept then effectively and generally. Not to the extent of bloody feuds and extermination of whole families by use of shotguns, revolvers and bowie knives, as Kentucky and some other states execute the adage now and have for years past. But this kinship of blood was held in high esteem by way of preferment over others not within its limits. And disagreements within its binding reach generally developed by showing lack of courtesy or kindness, want of respect and privileges of intimate friendliness. Such as barring neighborship and close social relations between the families while in a quarrel, or "at outs," as termed; discouraging or denying entirely to the younger members of both sexes permission "to keep company," court and "spark" each other with indications of engagements and final marriages.

Among the males the unpleasantness sometimes went so far as open boisterous quarrels and personal combats or fights at elections, militia musters or other jolly gatherings. The better side, however, of these blood kinships was revealed in the many close-clinging, devoted friendships, increased cultivation of the better affections and tender relations between blood relatives, ripening into lifelong, pure, honorable devotion of mind and heart, so frequently illustrated in the history of frontier and pioneer life in our great West.

While blood affinity constrained all to love each other better within its influence than those outside of its control, even within this circle of preference there was a choice again of finer, higher regard—the highest of all selection of affinity.

This supreme selection I made quite early in life between all my numerous brothers and sisters. One brother and one sister I set apart and above all the others, and of course above all other human beings excepting only my father and my mother. And this canonization has never wavered or changed and I still hold, one a saint, the other my ideal now in life. The whole population, both men and women, young and old, paid great respect and obedience to this blood line of affinity in their intercourse and social conduct with each other. Though frankly courteous and jolly, inclined to joke and jest with all acquaintances, the blood line of relationship always marked the line of their finer, warmer feelings.

HOSPITALITY.

Hospitality of home and hearth, table and bed was quite universal. Cabins, though generally small, like an omnibus would always admit one more to share in all the comforts they afforded. These were few and simple, but supplied all real wants and pressing needs of that time. They would fall far short of the demands of present-day luxury, of warmth, cupboard and bed room equipment. The fireside was wide and generous in heat, but sometimes one side of its guests froze while the other side burned.

The table of rude puncheons or unplaned boards, split from green trees lately cut in the forest, was held up by rough legs firmly inserted and spread out to support it safely. Table cloth of home-made tow-linen for common use, flax-linen for "company." Its burden of "creature comforts" abundant in quantity, rich, toothsome and healthy in quality, and quite various in kind. Corn bread baked in many ways furnished "the staff of life," and corn-pone was the king of all its varieties. Mush and milk and fried mush were very popular with old and young. Home-raised vegetables, wild honey and wild fruits were liberally used, supplying dessert and sauce to the meal. Lye hominy was an old-fashioned, much-prized article of food taken with milk or honey, and often with both. To this limited enumeration of food material was added fish, flesh and fowl of great variety and almost unlimited quantity and rare quality. Rivers, lakes, forest, prairie and barnyard were bountiful sources producing these food supplies. Their skillful preparation for table use, increase of health, animal vigor and palate delight, were all entrusted in simple faith to the female artists of the cabin kitchens of that happy primitive time.

Real tea and coffee of commerce could not be used at meals during the early period of which I write. Their supply was limited to that brought with new comers from home lands till improved transportation from St. Louis, supplied them for common use in Central Illinois. Herbs and roots from forest and prairie, supplied the only tea generally used by pioneers. Dr. Wm. S. Maus, my father-in-law, told this anecdote about early use of tea. The family doctor in early days stood next to the preacher in respect and esteem—even in preference at births. Dr. Maus practiced widely and had to make long rides on horseback to reach patients in need of his services, hence was often hungry. The custom was universal to ask the doctor to "stay and eat something" before leaving his patient, and equally customary for him to accept offered hospitality. Usually just before the meal was "set up" inquiry came from the cook: "What kind of tea do you like best, doctor? We have both kinds, in plenty, sage and sassafras."

Liberality of supply, frank heartiness in offering—even pressing—food on table guests were prominent and pleasing graces at all meals. No suggestion of stint or stinginess ever appeared in manners, acts or words of gracious host or hostess. Greed of gain, that insidious poison that kills all real enjoyment of food bounties, lest hospitality exhaust the supply and want may follow, had not touched or stung the broad liberality of the big generous hearts of that day.

THE SPINNING WHEEL.

One gentle touch on young memory's valve and the old light of pioneer days streams in showing the interior of a log cabin home complete, of that day.

An elder wife—perhaps grandmother in person—sits at the small spinning wheel driving it rapidly by intermittent pressure of her right foot on the treadle, with eye and mind intent on drawing out and twisting the fine linen thread from the flax-covered distaff in even size and continuous length, while a younger wife or unmarried girl drives a big wheel to furious motion and loud hum with the wheel-pin in her right hand dashing backward to draw the roll of carded wool to proper size as the whirring spindle unites and hardens it into yarn-woof for the loom. And ever as she returns in gentle pace from the utmost stretch of the yarn she jogs with her foot the sugar-trough cradle close to her line of retreat to reunite the baby's broken slumber. Meantime the low sound of gently simmering cabbage and bacon—perchance fresh venison, fruit of the hunter's skill—from the singing iron pot on the wood fire, joins with the hum of wheel and lullaby song of the spinner. Rare fragrance from the boiling pot fills the cabin area with appetizing odors reminding all its occupants of approaching meal time. The spinner hastens her humming wheel to complete the half dozen cuts—her stint for the dinner hour, eighteen cuts or hanks being a big day's work.

When at noon the simple meal is set up and all the family gather at the table to discuss the "creature comforts" of a log cabin dinner the graceful, health-giving exercise of the big wheel over a puncheon

floor and the rugged sprinting demands of the chase or long plodding guidance of the plow, all prove their power to win a vigorous appetite. Not strictly a "dinner of herbs" yet it had the Bible element to sweeten it—"love therewith."

PRAIRIE FIRES.

The great annual growth of tall thick prairie grass covering vast areas of surface when killed by autumn frosts and dried to tinder by Indian summer sŭns was liable to accidental and malicious fires each year. A conflagration of this abundant material forming a continuous line of many miles in length driven by a high wind would make the solid earth tremble and quiver beneath the feet as if the embattled charging columns of flame had weight equal to their brilliant light. A low sullen roar, like distant Niagara, accompanied its march as if Pluto, from his fiery regions, lent it subterranean music. Flame, light, motion and sound combined to make a spectacle and scene, in night time, unequalled in beauty and grandeur.

Often alarm for safety of property, home and human life, added excitement to the absorbing manifestation of power and splendor. Billowy swaying clouds of black smoke, lifting skyward would suddenly explode into flame, lighting the whole landscape and heaven above, beyond the brightness of noonday even if the hour was midnight. All combustible substance melted and vanished before this besom of heat and flame. Its progress was swift as the wind. The fleetest horse could hardly escape it by utmost strain of speed. Birds of the air and wild beasts of the prairie and grove, fled before its withering, scathing march with cries, screams and howls of fright and terror, sometimes overtaken and burned to cinder despite their wings and fleetness of foot.

Early inhabitants, from experience, had learned to guard against danger and loss from prairie fires, by plowing wide and numerous furrows round fields, cabins, stables, stacks of hay, grain, fodder and all exposed property. But sometimes great sheets of flame driven by strong winds would be torn from the line of fire and leap over protecting plowed spaces and kindle in hay stack or thatch of stable or shed, threatening cabin-roof and all property and life, home and sorroundings. If instant sufficient help were not present, all might be swept away in one fell swoop of fire and devastation. Sometimes such fiery visitation came in the darkness of night and neighboring homes were added to the smoking ruins of the same fire. To skillfully fight and rescue life, homes, and property from the ravages and loss by prairie fires, offered quite as wide opportunity to bravery and heroism of that time, as did fear, danger and suffering from tomahawk and scalping knife. And there were many men of that day, and not a few women too, ever present to act the brave hero and fearless heroine in time of need.

For days after an extensive prairie fire the whole landscape was covered with a black pall or robe of ash and cinders of charred grass. Soon the sweeping winds of autumn would lift this black debris—sole remnant of the prairie's beautiful summer drapery of grass and

flowers. During the annual Indian summer season the "prairie land" rarely lacked the bible illustration of "a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night."

DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY.

I can't hope it possible, for your imagination, to produce before your minds the picture my memory now presents to my ready familiar vision of the physical aspect of this same wide belt of territory then fresh and glowing with that youth and glory only once incident to all sentient or inanimate creations of nature's God. Only the poet's words can faintly shadow forth what my faithful memory tries in vain to spread before your inquiring gaze.

> "Fade day-dreams sweet, from memory fade,
> The perished bliss of youth's first prime,
> That once so bright on fancy played,
> Reviving no more in after time."

Unable to produce for your view the charms of the wilderness of that time as seen by its then scattered inhabitants, all justly termed "new-comers", how shall I hope to give you knowledge and understanding of its new tenants and would-be owners, cultivators and redeemers? Then it was a wonderland to them, new in all its features and quite different in many of its characteristics from any of the home lands they had left to seek this long dreamed of, hoped for, home in the west. The prairie feature of this new land was the most remarkable in distinction from any other land known to the newcomers and called forth constant surprise and enjoyment. It was this grand feature too, that gave to Illinois by its first impression on all first immigrants the well earned appellation of "prairie land."

The best picture I can recall of a prairie and of prairie scenes I quote from "Going to hear Peter Cartwright preach in Early Days," written by myself in after years, and being one of the party then and about ten years old.

"Surely this continuous 'blossomed plain' over which our wagon wheels rolled so swiftly without jolt or jar was all one of Bryant's Gardens of the Desert for which the speech of England has no name—the prairie, about which he sang in noble strain soon after. The whole glowing landscape about and around us far as eye could command, gave hint that the stars of night when eclipsed by the transcendent glories of dawn had slipped from their high places in the cerulean dome down to the green flowered earth, kindling it to 'rival the constellations.' The sunny, fragrant atmosphere palpitated with glad songs of mocking birds, thrush and meadow-larks, soaring on wing or swaying in the tall white-bloomed milkweed.

Inspiring scenes and sounds entranced the little party. Our animal companions, horses and dogs, seemed quite as much excited as their superiors and more demonstrative in expressing their joy. Had we by accident discovered and assumed possession of the long lost primeval "Garden of Eden?" Was this "Paradise Regained?" I don't believe within the four corners, or upon the round surface of this globe exists such beautiful scenes or swell such melodious sounds as greeted and blessed our eyes and ears that day. Such full

appreciation of the simple joys, beauty and pleasures of life and earth I never hope again to realize in the body. But the memory, as now aroused of such long past pleasures, is a very precious legacy and still warms and quickens the pulse of old age."

Fitly ornamenting, dividing and illustrating these vast prairie seas, tangled forests, well defined groves, wide flowing rivers, rushing creeks, winding streams and placid lakes, combined to form a whole country unsurpassed, if anywhere equaled in the great Mississippi valley, for landscape beauty, forest, stream and prairie attractions. And forest, stream and prairie were filled with game, birds, wild beasts and fish, making this land the hunter's paradise for sport; including supply of food and raiment for hunter, family and guests.

The charms and attractions of this country were innumerable, suiting and satisfying well the wants of its newly-come inhabitants. And I have now written fully about them. Yet I feel all this labored description of them fails to place you in possession of knowledge equal to what a single glance of my backward memory reveals to me.

Perhaps I would better illustrate my theme and create for you and for me an atmosphere in which we both could realize more clearly what I wish you to comprehend of social life and scenes in the early settlement of Central Illinois, by reading liberally an address delivered by me before the Tazewell County Old Settlers' annual meeting at Delavan, Ill., in 1899.

At that time I told of the things which appear retold in the following paragraphs. Among other things I said that my parentage entitled me to speak of pioneer life and its incidents.

My father came of Swiss descent and my mother of old New Jersey stock. Both were born in New Jersey. My father spent his youth in Philadelphia and saw General Washington frequently, and his memory was especially impressed by the pictorial occasion where, on his military charger, he is represented as riding nearly stirrup deep in flowers strewn before him by beautiful girls clothed in white, who address him in smiles and tears: "He who saved the mothers will protect the daughters." He often worked for Stephen Girard by day's work at 50 cents a day, paid in silver half-dollars. Emigrating to Ohio at an early day, he was offered choice lots in Cincinnati at 25 cents apiece. He volunteered in the war of 1812 against England, and was engaged against the Indians in northern Ohio about the Maumee river county.

Stories told in this campaign turned his thoughts toward the "Illinois country," and he made ready in the fall of 1827 for a second emigration westward; so that when he reached Illinois in that year he became an early settler of four states—New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, all holding high place in the grand union of states since their birth as states of the Union.

Only a small portion of the inhabitants of Illinois know anything of its early pioneer life, and this number is growing rapidly smaller. Our foreign population, now forming a large proportion, know almost nothing of early life, labor, and enterprise that wrenched this beautiful land from the savagery of life and occupancy of man and beast

and the rude wilderness of nature. A glance at its history is therefore pertinent, and if I give the record of my family's emigration to this country at that period it will suffice as a history for all others making the like emigration. Not at all that my family "was the whole thing," but that its record was "a specimen brick" of the time, and that what befell us was similar to the happenings of others who were "in the swim" of old settlers' days.

* * * * * * *

The period of arrival and location in the new country closely allied with vivid events of the tedious journey accomplished by old fashioned and nearly forgotten means of transportation, stands first on memory's page. Strong and roughly-built wagons, surmounted by Pennsylvania-fashioned beds closely covered by heavy tow-linen cloth, woven from flax, home grown, and manufactured entirely by members of the family in Ohio, composed the ark, car or moving house or home, that transported the "new-comers" to the "Dillon Settlement," Tazewell County, Illinois. These wagons so equipped were drawn by horses or oxen, and sometimes by both, jointly, when heavily loaded. A span or pair of horses being used in the lead, and a yoke of oxen being hitched next the wagon; and sometimes two or three yokes of oxen were required to draw a very heavy wagon and its load. Traveled roads and bridges were unknown to the first comers, only wagon tracks guided "movers" to the unbridged fords or best crossing of streams, sloughs or swamps. Plentiful and continous rains of spring and fall, thawing out of the frozen ground, or when only slightly frozen, made conditions of travel quite impossible to imagine now, with our graded and graveled roads, with iron and stone bridges wherever needed; and the memory of mud, slough, swamp and impassable stream seem like fables or unreliable dreams to us now. All difficulties of the trip from the starting point, in our case Butler County, Ohio, to the destination or accepted location, Dillon Settlement with us, being endured and overcome, next followed a choice of a new home in the newly found promised land.

But, says some tenderfoot traveler of this palace-car by day, and sleeping-coach by night railroad-time, had you no troubles, accidents, sufferings and pains, during this long six weeks' struggle with the wilderness, swamps, and streams and cold of the bleak frosty autumn, running far into the cheerless blasts of November? Truly and indeed we had our full share of all these terrors of the pathless wilderness, unknown sea of prairie, without guide or compass to show us on our way. Agonies of toothache, wrenchings of rheumatism, scorchings of fever, assailed and tortured us by day, and "murdered sleep" by night. But we had bidden farewell to the old home, we must find a new one.

Some bright flashes of memory lighten the gloom of that long, toilsome journey. Boy of only five years old then, I well remember the first wild deer brought into camp for food! It was a fine fat buck of four prongs. Camp had been made and November twilight was gathering fast, but rashers of venison from that buck's saddle soon smoked and sputtered on the coals, and joined their appetizing odors with the boiling coffee pot, and the feast that followed in that forest

bivouac far outranked in joy and gladness Belshazzar's royal banquet, and no fateful handwriting marred its progress or paralyzed all guests with fear at its conclusion. Impassable sloughs and more treacherous swamps compelled long detours to circumvent their impediment to a direct route. Swollen, ferryless, bridgeless streams barred our passage except by waiting until they fell to a fordable stage, or by constructing dugouts or rafts of dry logs to transport ourselves and goods over them, dragging the empty wagons through the raging floods and compelling the live stock to swim.

Arrived on the hither shore, wagons reloaded and the caravan reorganized, forward march was sounded, or if too late in the day, camp was made, stock corralled in some way, and all sought rest, with hooting owl for lullaby, or howling wolf to frighten the timid. O, tenderfoot man, or too softly nurtured woman of our present effeminate civilization and comfort, do you shudder at this picture and fear for the safety of our repose? Possibly the winds howled too, and the rain and sleet "froze as they fell" and

> The trees, their giant branches tossed
> Against a dark and frowning sky,

above our tents and covered wagons, but peace and trust reigned therein. My memory recalls cuddling close and warm to my mother's side, her arm beneath my head, surrendering myself to "Tired nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep," which came more graciously to me in this rude "wild west" camp, if history speaks true, than it comes to downy couch in gilded chamber of royal guarded palace, for czar, emperor, king or queen.

Our long journey came to a close just as winter began to set in. Fortunately for us, a vacant cabin in the Dillon settlement afforded temporary shelter till the February following. By that time my father had located a claim and built a cabin on it by help of all the male members of the family old enough to work. This was (and is) situated three miles southeast of "Town Site" then, Pekin now About this log cabin, its wild vicinity and incidents connected therewith cluster all the sweet memories of my childhood, youth and early manhood; and in common with all present, as to these mornings of life, come as their fullest, sweetest expression of recall the words of an early American poet:

> How dear to our hearts are the scenes of our childhood,
> As fond recollections present them to view;
> The prairie, the hilltop, the deep tangled wildwood,
> And every loved spot that our infancy knew.

The cabin—our home—was rude in construction, as all buildings of that period necessarily had to be. There was not a nail, or screw, or bolt, or scrap of iron used in any part of it, or any tin or metal attached to it. No glass could be obtained for window, door or transom, or sky light. Containing only one room below of 16 by 18 feet, an upstairs room, loft or garret, of more limited dimensions, as the sloping roof greatly curtailed the area of height sufficient for erect occupation and use. Within these two rooms, father, mother and eight children, then at home, found ample accommodation and happy entertainment throughout the circling year of summer's heat and

winter's cold. Within these two rooms of circumscribed size and height we found all the pleasures and joys now distributed by modern civilization, refinement and the best society over habitable house-territory designated in part by hospitable fashion, as: Hall, reception room, sitting room, parlor, double parlor, music room, bed room, guest room, chambers ad libitum, library—generally small and few books—dining room, store room, china closet, kitchen, laundry, lavatory, bath room, servant's room, etc., etc.

Of the eight children, inmates of our cabin, four were sisters, four were brothers, and the poetess, Mrs. Hemans, aptly described them with prophetic pen in her home across the ocean when she sang:

> They grew in beauty side by side,
> They filled our homes with glee,
> Their graves are severed far and wide,
> By mountain, stream and sea!

Of our whole family, eleven children, father and mother, in all thirteen, only two are left—an elder sister and myself. She to recall all the important events of the old home in Ohio and of the new one in Illinois, and I to recite a few of them here today. Two brothers and a sister were married before we came to the new country, and never lived with us in our cabin, having each one like it of their own not far away, and were always welcome visitors at the main family cabin, which seemed to extend its walls to fully accommodate the three kindred families whenever they chose to join us.

In fact, memory supplies no limit to the capacity of the old settlers' cabins to give room and hospitality to all friendly comers, and would-be guests. Not for a few brief minutes of hasty inquiry and question as to results of the last card party, dance or ball, and if baby slept well during its mother's necessary attendance on these functions of fashion in the present time. No, bless the memory of visiting and hospitality of good old log cabin days, time was the essence of enjoyment, jollity and fun, and a visit meant nothing short of a whole day, including the night, when story and song and game could be shared in by all after the day's work or hunt brought the entire family and guests together. So flowed on this simple, happy life in the newcomers' homes till many years greatly multiplied their number throughout this "Prairie Land," as our part of Illinois had then won that name.

Natural and constant change in family and neighborhood relations kept pace with increase in age and numbers of our population, Suitors came to woo and win the sisters from their parents' arms and protection, to join their lovers in making new homes for themselves; and blushing happy brides left their girlhood homes in faithful love and trust and tearful joy! The brothers, with like intent, moved by the sweet, invisible, all-pervading law of love, left the old cabin door to make like reprisal in kind, and brought back with them willing, happy brides to replace the lost sisters, till a cabin could be built for the last mated pair. So went on the endless chain, the golden chain, of love and marriage until our land became thickly dotted with homes of new made families in addition to those of the original "newcomers." Humble and simple in manner and form, these marriages

promised and produced more happiness in family and social life than most marriages of princes and princesses, attended by grand ceremonies in palaces where transfer of wealth or acquisition of political power outweighed the impulse of love or regard for honor or purity of life in the holy state of matrimony, As for time and opportunity to make matches and marriages, these came by nature as it were. No matter how many others were around, eyes could wink and blink faster than tongues could clatter and a squeeze of the hand or pinch of the arm or ear could be executed with effect if not too much light present. Lamps and candles were scarce and feeble in those days—and above all in favor of effective sparking, that greatest enemy of all private, social enjoyment of chat, or reverie, or tete-a-tete, the electric light, was not then known! Call to mind the many quilting, carpet-rag sewing, apple paring, pumpkin peeling frolics, made by the girls and matrons, the corn shuckings, wood choppings, rail splittings, house and barn raisings by boys and men, wild berrying, nutting and many other parties made and joined in by male and female of all ages, and sparking opportunities were plenty.

And then, over and above all, and better than all other opportunities for sparking, love making and falling in love with each other came the annual Methodist camp meeting! Blessings on the memory of these rude, wild, exciting camp meetings! Organized by the religious element in good men and women of that illiterate period, when nearly all the books known to us were summed up in the scant list of the Bible, Hymn Book, Pilgrim's Progress, Robinson Crusoe and "The Indian Book." for spiritual culture and comfort. All classes and conditions, far and near, attended and were made hospitably and socially welcome to tent and table, mourners' bench and family circle. Preachers, elders and heads of families gave devout, inspired attention and labor to the spiritual demands and needs of the miscellaneous congregation, and looked after the interests of the Methodist church organization. The younger persons present, of both sexes, gave more attention to worldly interests, and affairs of the heart were in ascendant. Too young to join in these delectable enterprises myself, memory seems to say all times, all places, afforded ample opportunity—nay, inducement—to spark the pretty girls, fall in love with them, marry them, and live happy, prosperous lives. Getting married meant something practical then. A log cabin soon followed on a claim made by the husband. Corn bread, hominy, wild game, bacon, eggs and butter were the main articles of living, all cooked and served by the new wife. No hired girls, no boarding-house life then as is so general now. Husband and wife both joined at once in bread winning, left [felt] no fear of the wolf of want. Health and happiness, crowned with parentage and frequent use of the sugar-trough cradle won the highest position ever attained by man and woman, makers of a virtuous, happy home; helpers to make a patriotic nation. The sugar-trough was fashion's baby home then.

Only a few years pass, and the cabin was enlivened by bright-eyed, rosy-cheeked children, laughing and shouting like the wild bird's song and the prairie wolves' yelp—crowding in clusters at the cabin

door to see a stranger pass, thick as grapes on the wild vine. Early mating, almost universal marriage, and few divorces, was the mainspring of rapid population.

Scattered settlements in a new country traversed by Indians and wild beasts, made friendly association and frequent visits among distant neighbors necessary and pleasant. Friendship then was warm and true, not merely

> A name,
> A charm that lulls to sleep,
> A shade that follows wealth or fame,
> But leaves the wretch to weep.

Needs of mutual help bound old settlers in fraternal bonds of closest, tenderest ties. None knew when "the savage Indian war-whoop might rouse the midnight slumber of the cradle, and the burning cabin force them to flee by its light for safety to the forest and hills." Mutual dependence for help in raising their cabins and barns, for aid in time of sickness, accident and misfortune, incident to pioneer life, kept alive and active all the better instincts of our nature.

Many practical demonstrations of true friendship, uninfluenced by hope of financial gain, can be recalled of these early times. Horse-stealing was held the highest crime against property rights. Next after this came "jumping" a new-comer's claim, that is, taking forcible or other unfair possession of a claim to a homestead or location for a home. One of the most noted old settlers in this region felt himself aggrieved in this way. Not having money enough to enter at the beginning of the "land sales" all the pieces he had made claim to, he was compelled to leave one eighty exposed to the claim jumper. Time passed and he could not secure the one hundred dollars in cash—silver was all our money then—to enter the coveted tract. Rumor came to him that a neighbor had entered it away from him—jumped it! He sought the offender at once and charged him with the great wrong. "Yes," replied the great transgressor, "I have entered thy favorite eighty of timber because thee said thee could not get the money, and I feared somebody else would enter it away from thee. But, friend Martin, I entered it in thy name, and it is thine now forever—and not mine. Thee need not worry about payment for it. Whenever thee gets a hundred dollars thee can give it to me. There will be no interest to pay. The land is thine." And lo, his lineal offspring occupies the land to this day, and it blooms as the Garden of Eden, yielding an hundred fold.

This was the act of the good old Quaker friend, Dr. Griffith. Personal test compels the declaration that his doses of "Peruvian barks" for "fever 'n ager" were large, frequent and very bitter, but his words, when he said: "James, these will make thee better," were sweet as the fabled honey of Hymettus, and his gentle hand when he pressed the fevered brow was soft and cool as the leaves that fall in Vallombrosa's Vale.

The "laws of the land" were not much in evidence then. Justices of the peace only administered them, aided by constables. The sheriff and his deputies were seldom seen in early days. But good order and peace prevailed generally. Differences of opinion were discussed at house raisings and like gatherings. Serious quarrels were settled

at election by personal combat. Social intercourse was frank to a degree and devotees of fashion today would declare it rude and vulgar. Whatever form of words used they declared their meaning clearly and did not hide or stimulate impure thoughts, or lead to improper conduct. Social purity between male and female, old and young, was strictly observed and all lapses from its simple code were punished by reprobation and discredit by all the good. Lack of certainty as to male parentage never occurred then as it is said to happen often now —in foreign countries The classic denunciation of broken faith in love was then real, not as we hold it now, only poetic:

> Is there no bolt in the stores of Heaven
> Red with uncommon wrath,
> To blast the man, who to please
> His own desires, blights a maiden's fame?

Early in our pioneer life in Illinois came the Black Hawk Indian war. This brought days of fear and nights of terror from Springfield to Chicago—Fort Dearborn. Captain Adams raised a company of volunteers in this neighborhood and went at once to the front, meeting defeat with General Stillman in command at "Stillman's Run" and his own death while fighting desperately hand-to-hand with the main force of the Indians, striving in vain to form and protect his surprised and panic stricken men. Majors Bailey and Perkins, by their bravery and coolness, saved many lives also at this time. Eleven of this command were killed in the battle and flight, and many were wounded. This bloody disaster covered the country round with grief and foreboding as to the future. It was for some time feared all our homes and property would have to be abandoned in flight South for safety. Though temporarily victorious, the Indians feared a return of the white settlers and fled toward the North and were soon overwhelmed and practically destroyed at the battle of the "Bad Ax." We were left to mourn our dead and bring home the wounded and nurse them back to health and strength. To comfort our sorrow we remembered and sung the immortal song for the fallen brave:

> How sleep the brave who sink to rest
> By all their country's wishes blest;
> When spring with dewy fingers cold
> Returns to deck their hallowed mold
> She there shall dress a sweeter sod
> Than Fancy's feet have ever trod.

Time had but little softened grief for those slain by Indians when the cholera spread a funereal pall over the same territory lately stricken by war. The swift flying messengers on horseback in pursuit wherever to be found dotted the prairies with omens of dread. For when the fell disease struck its victim no time could be lost before active remedies were applied. Death was the quick result if potent relief was not found within the early hours of attack. In my family four were fatally stricken in as many days. Many who were not at once attacked fled their homes, only to meet death a little later in the lonely prairie or unsettled forest. Bereavement and sorrow were widespread—almost universal—over a great part of the West.

Typhoid and other fevers followed this dreadful visitation, swelling the death list generally from those who escaped the cholera. Indeed, the "cholera year," as it was long referred to, was a period of gloom from which memory turns in horror. From this period may be dated most of our country graveyards, being then set apart for burial of our first dead.

Then to us were verified the comforts found in the good old hymn:

> There is a calm for those who weep,
> A rest for weary pilgrims found;
> They softly lie and sweetly sleep,
> Awaiting us, low in the ground.

Sorrow, affliction, and trouble are incident to every stage and situation in life. Neither country nor climate can entirely protect us from misfortune and defeat at some periods of our life. To make wise selection least liable to a multiplicity of disagreeable conditions seems a natural incentive of all intelligent creatures. The pioneer incentive to man, however, seems a violation of this common principle of self-protection or self-escape from disagreeable conditions. My family were comfortably located in a happy home and a desirable part of Ohio, but insidious whisperings of a better, brighter, newer country west of us invaded our ears and influenced our desires to the point of change of our home. Hence the trip above narrated and all its attendant afflictions. Yet no one of the survivors ever thought or dreamed of return to the old location. No, indeed!

There was a charm about the new home, a fascination in all our surroundings that claimed our allegiance and love in spite of all temporary inconvenience, sickness, suffering, death, and sorrow. The broad, limitless expanse of unclaimed, unused virgin nature appealed to us in all its smiling beauty, to be used, occupied, and enjoyed by man and woman for virtuous, civilized homes of love and human production. It seemed a new Garden of Eden without a serpent. Knowledge was ours, our eyes were opened, and we feared no fall.

The earliest noted writer to praise our "prairie land" says of it: "I have loved the West, and it still claims my preference over all other portions of the earth. Its magnitude, its fertility, the kindness of the climate, the variety and excellence of its productions, are unrivaled in our own country, if not on the globe. In these characters it presents itself to my mind, in the light of a strong and generous parent,whose arms are spread to extend protection, happiness, and life to throngs who seek them from other and less favored climes. The magnificent freedom and beauty of the country form, as it were, a common element in which all varieties of character, education, and prejudice are resolved into simple and harmonious relation. Living near to nature, artificial distinctions lose much of their force. Humanity is valued mainly for its intrinsic worth—not for its appurtenances or outward belongings. "The writing of these sketches," the writer continues, "has heretofore been a labor of love. While engaged upon them I have lived again in the land of my heart. I have seen the grasses wave, and felt the winds, and listened to the birds, and watched the springing flowers, and exulted in something of the old sense of free-

dom which these conferred upon me. Visions prophetic of the glory and greatness which are to be developed here have dwelt in my mind and exalted it above the narrow personal cares of life."

Such are the declarations of one who had large opportunity and kindred capacity to judge fairly the charms of this country in its days of pristine beauty and enchantment—the days we are now recalling. And who of us old settlers today cannot lift the veil from memory's page and see again before us this beautiful land as it then absorbed our vision, enchanted our fancy, and filled our long cherished hope as the "land of hope" realized at last.

ST. CLAIR COUNTY.

(By J. N. Perrin.)

In 1890 was celebrated the centennial of St. Clair county, Illinois, at Belleville, the county seat. On that occasion a vast concourse of people from various portions of our State took part in the exercises; a monster street parade took place in which a great number of floats represented both old and new conditions of agricultural, industrial and social life; the festivities were graced by the presence of two of Illinois' most distinguished characters—Hon. Lyman Trumbull and Gov. Richard J. Oglesby—both of whom participated in the program by making addresses. The management had assigned me the pleasant duty of presenting an historical address and in concluding its delivery I made use of the following language which I beg to submit as an introduction now to the presentation of this sketch of the "mother of counties."

"This is the place where Indian warriors camped; where Jesuit priests brought forth the cross: where first the Frenchman came: where England ruled and swayed; where old Virginia sent her sons: where pioneers blazed out the path: and where the hand of toil since then has wrought another wonder of the world."

As historians and historical students you are expected to be historically cognizant of the events which occurred prior to the formation of this county from the day when Cartier landed on the St. Lawrence in 1534 down to the proclamation in 1790 by Arthur St. Clair which established the first county in Illinois. Hence a cursory review suffices as a historical stepping-stone to the subject in hand.

The Spaniards had traversed the Southland, the English had skirted the Atlantic sea-board and the French had established themselves in the North-East and had spread their discoveries along the St. Lawrence and the chain of Great Lakes before the middle of the seventeenth century.

We shall briefly follow the French explorations, as it is to them that we are indebted for the discovery of this Mississippi Valley. All through the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, they opened up the North-East, which was called New France. It was during the last half of the seventeenth that the northern Mississippi river was discovered. In 1673 a young Jesuit missionary, Father Marquette, 36 years old, immortalized himself through this discovery. Through the discovery all the territory bordering on the

river and its tributaries became French territory and was so considered in the proclamation issued through the LaSalle expedition in 1682. As a part thereof Illinois became French. Under the French occupation which lasted for more than three quarters of a century the earliest settlements in Illinois were made of which we have any historic knowledge. Kaskaskia ranking as the oldest had its beginning in a mission established by Marquette on the northern Illinois river. About 1700 we find it in the southern portion of the present state on its present site practically at the mouth of the Kaskaskia river where it empties into the Mississippi. In the same year we also find Cahokia having a definite beginning. These two pioneer settlements, the subject of so much dispute and historic misstatement, can not lay claim to greater antiquity with any historic truthful accuracy. In 1718 Fort Chartres was commenced which for a half century was the headquarters of the French government in the West. A year later almost within the shadow of this great military fort the village of St. Anne's was begun. There is now no vestige left of this village. In 1722 Prairie du Rocher was established. Prairie du Pont near Cahokia commenced in 1760. At the time of the transfer of this territory from the French to the British in 1763 these with Peoria in the north were the centers of population in what was then termed the Illinois country so named from the Illinois confederacy of Indian tribes who originally had their habitat on this soil.

At the close of the French-Indian war in the treaty of Paris in 1763 this Illinois country was embraced in the cession and in 1765 the formal transfer was made when St. Ange de Belle Rive delivered up the keys of Fort Chartres. The Illinois country did not have to remain British long for during the war of American Independence it was delivered to the American cause by George Rogers Clark through his capture of the North-West in 1778. During the brief period of English occupation of this territory from 1765 to 1778 an incident took place which is of vast historic importance. This was the assassination of Pontiac near Cahokia. Cahokia is in the present county of St. Clair and this famous historic happening enriches the annals of the county greatly for Pontiac was probably the greatest of all the Indians of whom we have any historic information.

After the capture of the Northwest by Clark the stream of American migration began to set in to the West. The Illinois country was erected into the Illinois county with John Todd of Kentucky as commandant. The Americans settled in what is called The American Bottom. In 1781 came Moore and Bond and Garrison and Rutherford and Kidd and settled at The Beautiful Fountain in Monroe. Later the Lemons and Ogles and Pulliams and Whitesides came. A few years later, at the close of the War of Independence, it was suggested that some of the states should cede their lands to the national government and in 1784 the Illinois county was ceded to the United States by Virginia and erected into the Northwest Territory by the ordinance of 1787, with Gen. Arthur St. Clair as the territorial governor, in which capacity he served until 1802. It embraced Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.

Under the ordinance of 1787 among other things it was provided as follows: "For the prevention of crimes and injuries the laws to be adopted or made, shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of process criminal and civil, the governor shall make proper division thereof; and he shall proceed from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district in which the Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alteration as may thereafter be made by the legislature." By virtue of this authority was issued the proclamation dated on the 27th day of April, 1790, and signed by the Governor and his secretary organizing the county of St. Clair, so named after the Governor himself. It was the first county organized within the present limits of our State of which it embraced fully one-third. The population of Illinois at that time is supposed to have been about 2,000.

Upon the organization of St. Clair county the political machinery was put in operation and the first evidence of legal proceedings was seen in the legal tribunals established at Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher and Cahokia. A judge presided at each one of these places. In those days the superstitious feelings of the people had not yet been eradicated; in the very year when this county was created the belief in witchcraft was prevalent and two instances are recorded of negroes being executed. Judge William H. Snyder told me of a conversation had in his youth with a very aged Frenchman who had witnessed the execution of some negroes for witchery and also witnessed the flying of some crows overhead immediately afterward and believed that the bad spirit had gone into the crows and was taking its flight.

The proclamation establishing St. Clair county fixed its boundaries as follows: "Beginning at the mouth of the little Michillimackinack river, running thence southerly in a direct line to the mouth of the little river above Fort Massac upon the Ohio river; thence with the said river to its junction with the Mississippi; thence up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Illinois river, and so up Illinois river to the place of beginning, with all the adjacent islands of said rivers, Illinois and Mississippi."

When a division of this county took place in 1795 and Randolph county was formed out of the southern part below a line drawn east and west from the Mississippi to the Wabash through the New Design Settlement in the present county of Monroe, Cahokia became the county seat of St. Clair and remained so for nineteen years. A division took place in the year 1800, as stated in the title of the Act of Congress of May 7th of that year, of "the territory of the United States, northwest of the Ohio, into two separate governments." The west part was called Indiana Territory and included Illinois. St. Clair county was then represented in the legislature at Vincennes and the members used to ride on horseback across the country along what was called the old "Vincennes Trace." William Henry Harrison was appointed as Governor of the Indiana Territory in which this section was included. The population of Illinois then was reported at 2,458. Through a division in 1809 of the Indiana Territory, Illinois became

a territory with Ninian Edwards as its first territorial Governor. In 1812 when Illinois became a territory of the second grade by a vote of the people, Governor Edwards also by his proclamation had established the counties of Gallatin, Johnson and Madison.

In 1814 the county seat of St. Clair county was removed to Belleville where for ninety years it has witnessed the steady growth of an industrious people. From time to time divisions have been made until the present county is reduced to its present size; though within its present bounds we have a population of 90,000 whose hearts beat with gladness because they live within those bounds where nature yields her choicest gifts; where orchards bear their choicest fruits; where meadows smile beneath the sun; where farms are scattered o'er the fairest soil; where mines give up abundant fuel; where forges blaze and chimneys smoke; where hammers sound and anvils ring; where the army of progressive toil keeps pace with the forward tread of legions marching on to their destined goal; and where the eye of man in perpetual glee beholds the scene.

Within the present limits of the county many of the most noteworthy events within the history of the State have transpired. Such as the founding of one of the very earliest of all the settlements in the West when Cahokia began in 1700; the assassination of Pontiac near Cahokia in 1769; the establishment of the first Protestant Theological Seminary in the West when in 1827 John M. Peck built the Rock Springs Seminary half way between O'Fallon and Lebanon, which has since been transferred to Upper Alton and grown to be Shurtleff College; the first railroad in the West which was built in 1837 across the Grand Marais and the American Bottom to where the thriving city of East St. Louis now stands and had no less renowned a personage than Gov. John Reynolds for its projector; the first legal execution which took place in the State when Timothy Bennett was hanged at Belleville on Monday the 3rd day of September, 1821, for the murder of Stuart in a sham duel.

These events of course all occurred within the bounds of the original county necessarily. Besides them the territory within the bounds of the original county witnessed the building of the most famous of all American forts at a cost of a million dollars and became the home of all of the Capitals of the State, namely Kaskaskia from 1818 to 1820, Vandalia from 1820 to 1839, Springfield from 1839 to the present.

Prior to the era of authentic history this section also witnessed the greatest events of antiquity as evidenced in the mammoth mounds scattered over St. Clair, Madison, Clinton and Washington counties. Recent explorations of these by Dr. E. A. Woeld of Belleville have added immensely to the department of Archeology. And thus archaeologic proof brings forth antiquity in corroboration of the present in its insistence that this favored spot of earth was designed by Nature and by Nature's Ruler as the seat of a mighty civilization from which shall radiate a countless throng of blessings to the world.

GENERAL JAMES SEMPLE.

(By Mary Semple Ames Cushman.)

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

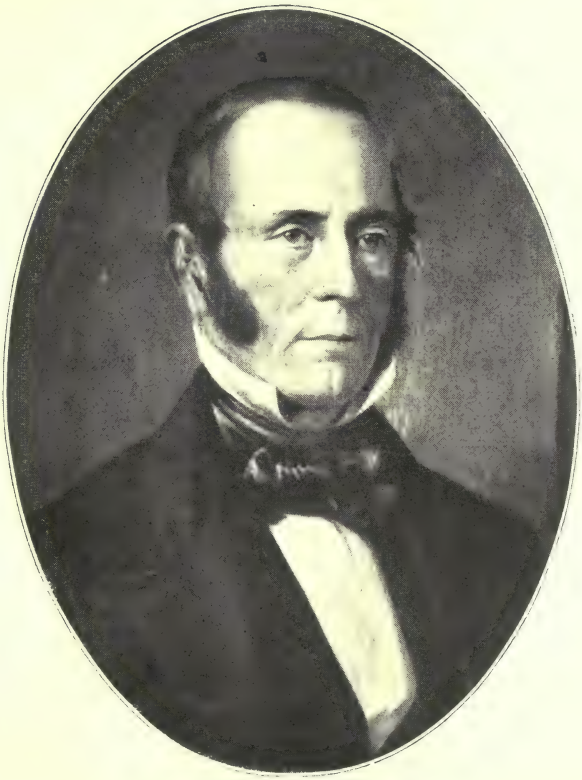
I deem it an unusual privilege to present this paper on the life and Public services of Gen. James Semple to the Illinois State Historical Society. Certainly no Association of a similar nature, in the various States of the Union, could be a safer repository and custodian for that large amount of material from which the historian must gather his facts and draw his inspiration.

Heredity and environment are such potent factors in the development of human character, that it is undoubtedly germane to this sketch to refer briefly to the early ancestry of General Semple.

The recorded history of the Semple family dates back to the year 1214. Its original founder, Guillaume de Sempill, was among the adventurous warriors who accompanied William the Conquerer from Normandy, when he laid low the British supremacy at the battle of Hastings in 1066. Tradition tells us that he, with other ambitious nobles of the Norman army, was dissatisfied with the share of booty assigned him for his services, and on invitation from the King of Scotland, who offered more substantial inducements, traveled northward to settle in the beautiful and romantic hills of the country of Renfrewshire.

Here, near the little town of Ailsea, his descendents acquired vast domains, built many beautiful castles on the picturesque crags overlooking the lakes, and became one of the oldest and most illustrious houses of the Scotch peerage. Offices of great importance were held by them under the Stuarts; and their history, like that of other noble families of these early centuries, is one of wild romance and intermittent strife, according to the varying fortunes of those to whom they had sworn allegiance.

But about the year 1700 we find one of the sons forsaking the profession of arms for the church. This was the Rev. James Semple, of Dreghorn, the great grandfather of Gen. James Semple of Illinois. His son, John Semple, emigrated to Virginia in 1752. He acquired a large fortune and founded an estate in King and Queen county which he named "Rosemount." John Walter Semple, his oldest son, married Lucy Robertson, also of Scotch ancestry. He was a man of some political ambition and served several terms in the Legislature;



GEN. JAMES SEMPLE

but the potent fascination of the great western country, of which Daniel Boone had brought back such wonderful tales, had already started the migration which soon peopled Kentucky with scions of the old Virginia families.

Major Semple was among those who determined to seek fortune and success in these promising new fields; and he and his wife joined a party of their relatives and friends, and together accomplished the long journey down the Ohio River on flat boats. The party separated at Lexington, the Semples settling in Greene county; and here, two years before the close of the 18th century, in 1798, James Semple, the subject of this sketch, was born. Shortly after this event the family removed to Clinton county where his father built his permanent home, which in memory of the great national struggle, he called "76."

Young Semple's mother was a woman of remarkable force of character and unusual ability. Possessed of a keen intellect and great vitality, she readily adapted herself to the exigencies of pioneer life, even arguing her own law cases in court when no lawyers could be found.

The lack of facilities for any adequate education for the fast growing children was perhaps the chief disability under which these early settlers labored. Young Semple was fortunate, however, in being able to acquire a fair education under the tutelage of his uncle, Isaac Robertson, who was a graduate of Princeton College.

At the early age of sixteen he volunteered and joined the army under Gen. Jackson; two years later he was elected an ensign in the 81st regiment of Kentucky Militia, and at a public meeting held at this time, he was appointed a member of a committee to draft resolutions on the politics of the day, which were adopted and published in the democratic newspapers.

It is seen how Semple thus gravitated from his earliest youth into public life. This was during the "era of good feeling," as it was called when statesmanship was considered the most honorable profession to which a young man could aspire. The flush of the recent victory of freedom over old world oppression was still powerful to imbue men with splendid patriotism and high standards. Such ideals could not fail to appeal with intensity to a mind naturally "tuned to fine issues," and under such influences, Semple grew to manhood, a good type of the gentlemen of the old school, a Jeffersonian Democrat.

Under the necessity of seeking his fortune, Mr. Semple moved to Edwardsville in 1818, but remained only nine months, when he returned to Kentucky, and shortly after was married to Ellen Duff Green, a niece of the distinguished politician of that name. A year later the young couple established themselves at Chariton, in the newly admitted state of Missouri, where Mr. Semple engaged in business.

When he left the parental roof a slave had been given him as his original capital in life. This slave was soon liberated by his young master, and on the document conveying this intelligence was written, "This is the only slave I have ever owned or ever will own."

During his absence from home, Semple kept in constant correspondence with his mother. His letters breathed the most tender af-

fection for her and "his little brothers and sisters" as he always called them. Being the eldest of nine children, he realized at the death of his father, in 1820, the responsibilities placed upon his shoulders, as the one to whom his mother would naturally appeal for counsel and support. In these he never failed her, and the relation between mother and son to the day of her death at the advanced age of 84 was a most beautiful one.

Being elected, shortly after his arrival in Chariton, one of the Commissioners of the Loan Office, to which was attached a good salary, new and more promising prospects were opened up to his ambitions; but the great blow he received in the death of his wife, discouraged for a time his efforts, and it was not until later that he began the study of law, into which he threw himself with ardor, partly to forget his cruel bereavement, and partly from a growing conviction that a profound legal knowledge was essential to the kind of success in life to which he aspired. He wrote to his mother that he had 158 law books in his room, which was quite a collection for an impecunious young man of that period, and that he devoted every spare moment to their perusal.

Mr. Semple removed from Chariton to Louisville to continue the study and practice of law and remained there three years, when he returned to Edwardsville, which was henceforth to be his home till his removal to Alton in 1837. He now threw in his fortunes with the rising young state of Illinois, and worked with sincere affection and pride during many years of public life, for her advancement and honor.

At the outbreak of the Black Hawk War, although Gov. Ninian Edwards had commissioned Mr. Semple adjutant of the 8th regiment of militia, he enlisted first as a private, and was subsequently commissioned by Governor Reynolds Adjutant in the Mounted Volunteers and later made Aide de Camp to General Whiteside.

In the year 1833 he was elected to the House of Representatives from Madison County, which he ably represented for six terms, three of which he presided over the House as Speaker. His services as a legislator were interrupted by his election as Attorney General of the State, which office after one term, he resigned, and again entered the House. From the first years of his residence in Edwardsville, the talents and legal ability of Mr. Semple had been the means of his acquiring an extensive law practice. He was considered one of the distinguished lawyers of his State, (having been elected first district and then circuit Judge, at an unusually early stage of his career,) and it has been said that the bar of 1836 has never been surpassed.

Mr. Semple was married in 1833 to Mrs. Mary Stevenson Mizner, a daughter of Dr. Caldwell Cairns, one of the members of the first Constitutional Convention of Illinois. Mrs. Mizner was possessed of great beauty, accompanied by sterling qualities of mind and heart.

General Semple was urged by his friends, in the year 1836, to become a candidate for the United States Senate. Stephen A. Douglas wrote to him at this time, "The use of your name among the people will give strength to our party in this county." Another admirer praised the manly and dignified way he had presided over the House

for so long and said, "You occupy a high place in the affections of the people of this State, more so than any man of your age in any state in the union." Judge Richard M. Young, a personal friend of General Semple's, was his opponent in this contest, and the mutual generosity of their attitude towards one another is worthy of note. Each was willing to concede his claim for the success of the party, to which all personal advancement was cheerfully sacrificed. As it developed, however, General Ewing was re-elected over both.

During these years, a tremendous amount of speculation had been indulged in all over the country, but particularly in the new western states. Great sums were voted by Congress for internal improvements, and so numerous were the railroads and state roads projected in Illinois that there were not enough inhabitants to make use of them. As a result of the general prosperity, town building became one of the pastimes of the moneyed classes. General Semple had engaged in this fascinating operation in connection with Mr. Adam Snyder, Mr. Suppiger, and others, and had laid out the towns of Highland and Tamarawa. Lots were sold on long credit and were quickly disposed of, and a fortune for the projectors seemed in sight. But in 1837 the great panic occurred, and such hard times set in that it was recounted that "even the moon could not make its change." Naturally all payments on real estate ceased, and the towns were reluctantly abandoned, their founders losing a considerable amount of money thereby.

On the return of Gen. Robert McAfee, in 1837, from the post of the United States chargé d'affaires to New Grenada, the friends of General Semple in Washington, without solicitation or even knowledge on his part, presented his name for this position. Some of his friends at home, however, were adverse to his acceptance of this office in a foreign land, arguing that he could better serve his country and advance his personal interests in his own state. He was at this time about to be tendered the nomination for Governor, and his name was again prominently mentioned for the Senate.

Judge Sidney Breese wrote, "I think our party will lose by your absence if you decide to go to South America, as it was our intention to run you for Governor. We must have some firm anti-bank man, and I know of none more so than yourself." A letter from Isaac Cartwright reads: "I do not believe this appointment was any of your own seeking, and I sincerely hope you will not accept it. In the present crisis your talents in the cause of democracy are greatly needed in this state." It was with considerable reluctance that General Semple, notwithstanding the advice of some of his friends, finally reached the decision to accept the post in South America.

At the time of the wildcat speculation period, he had not only laid out towns, but had made heavy investments in land. The panic found him with a host of others financially embarrassed, and in the hope of recuperating his fortunes and his health, which was far from robust, he determined to venture in new fields. In later years he fully realized that his absence from Illinois for so long a time, just at this crucial period, was the mistake of his political career. He re-

gretted not having heeded the advice of sincere consellors, and the suspicion was borne in upon him that he had perhaps been relegated to this distant post in order to clear the arena for the political ambitions of others. When his nomination for the office came up in the Senate it was unanimously confirmed, Messrs. Linn and Benton, of Missouri, giving a highly eulogistic statement of his character and his qualifications for the place, with the added remark by Benton that Semple was "an unusually fine looking man."

A journey to Bogata in 1837 was of far greater duration and attended with more numerous dangers than a trip around the globe in our day.

General McAfee described his own journey there as being one of such hardship and peril that General Semple reluctantly abandoned the idea of taking his wife and children with him on the initial voyage. Although nominally occupying the position of chargé d'affaires to New Grenada, General Semple was endowed with all the powers of a minister plenipotentiary. His reception by Mr. Van Buren, on reaching Washington, was most flattering, and many attentions from prominent public men were shown him.

Having reached New York on January 5th, he embarked on the brig "Sadi," a seaworthy little vessel carrying fourteen sails.

On February 11th, the beautiful green island of Martinique was reached, and on the 22nd, Santa Martha came in sight. The existence of taverns and hotels was unknown in South America. Travelers of distinction were entertained at private houses with the most lavish hospitality, the citizens vying with one another for the privilege. After four days spent most delightfully at the residence of Don Joaquim di Mier in Santa Martha, the trip up the Magdalena River began.

General Semple describes some of his experiences as follows: "I embarked on what they called a burrgo, a large canoe dug out of a tree, with a small space in the middle covered with palm leaves. I put my trunk under this frail cover, and took my seat in the small space left. To connect the idea of comfort with a voyage of thirteen days in this situation would be a perversion of the English language. One has on this trip all that is grand, romantic and beautiful compounded with all that is nauseous, disagreeable and dangerous." He mentions the wild beasts and the chattering monkeys, and marvels at the tropical vegetation, stating that after the country had been settled 300 years there had not yet been found names for the vast number of fruits and flowers.

At the Port of Ocana a halt was made, mules were secured, and packed with the luggage, and the arduous crossing of the mountains began. The manner of traversing some of the rivers was both novel and exhilarating, the passengers being placed in baskets suspended high in the air by raw hide ropes and drawn across by means of a pulley. On April 10th, ninety-five days after his departure from New York, General Semple and his little party reached Bogota, where Mr. Gooding had his house in readiness for him.

The first impressions received on his arrival were extremely agreeable. "I never saw a more kind and hospitable people," wrote Mr. Semple. "I am in truth highly delighted with them, and as for robbers, of which I had some fear in traveling, I could send a common peon with a thousand dollars from one end of the country to the other in perfect safety. Bogota is all new Grenada, as Paris is all France, and the people dress very fashionably in French and English styles."

I cannot dwell longer on the entertaining accounts of General Semple's private life, and experiences in South America, which would furnish material for a volume. His official life was under a great pressure of business. Many claims of citizens of the United States against the Columbian Government were sent to him to adjudicate. Besides this press of correspondence, he had jurisdiction over many of the consuls, who referred all matter of importance to him. To keep from all entanglements with the warring factions in the Republic, and still maintain a conciliatory attitude towards all required delicacy of handling. The frequent revolutions which devastated the country he attributed to the machinations of priests, and the ambition of the old Spanish grandees; and the mass of the people, who would fain have lived in peace, were the unhappy victims.

Much of his time was taken up in formal visits and diplomatic dinners. Among his intimates he mentioned Baron Gros and Mr. Adams, the French and English chargé d'affaires, the Pope's Nuncio, and the Archbishop of Bogota, a man of distinction and learning. General Semple very soon acquired a remarkable mastery of the Spanish language, for which he had a great admiration.

He kept more or less in touch with the affairs at home through an active correspondence with friends in Illinois, among whom were Adam Snyder, Gustavus Koerner, Sidney Breese, James Shields, Richard M. Young and Governor Ford. At the end of his first year of exile, he received permission from our Government for several months' leave of absence and returned to America. He entertained a hope that he would be allowed to hand in his resignation, but finding it unacceptable to our government, he made preparation to have his family accompany him back to his post. The return journey to Bogota with Mrs. Semple and his four children was accomplished safely, the crossing of the mountains being pursued by a different route, over which the travelers were carried in chairs strapped to the backs of Indians. Mrs. Semple was much interested in her new surroundings, the little children prospered, and learned Spanish, and the two following years were spent very happily.

In letters from home, disquieting news had been received regarding the re-election of Mr. Van Buren, upon which the Democrats felt the salvation of the country depended. Party feeling ran high. The most virulent abuse was heaped upon the Whigs, who were suspected of secretly conniving with England. They were denounced as traitors without principle or decency. After one of the most heated campaigns in the annals of our history, the election of Gen. Harrison by overwhelming majorities, came with surprise and consternation to the Democratic party. One of Gen. Semple's corres-

pondents wrote, "You will ere this have read President Harrison's inaugural, and will see that the Whigs have complete ascendency in both houses. Mr. Clay will in fact be president for the next four years and Mr. Webster will look on and say amen!"

The Whigs being hungry for office, Gen. Semple anticipated his immediate recall from South America. He was surprised and could not but feel gratified that Mr. Harrison on the contrary made no move to have him replaced. But political and business considerations determined him nevertheless to yield to the solicitation of his friends at home; and he accordingly presented his resignation to Mr. Tyler, who had, through the death of Gen. Harrison, become president one month after the inauguration. It was accepted with expressions of regret, the efficiency of Gen. Semple as a diplomat having been fully recognized by our government. In June, 1842, Gen. Semple arrived in Washington, where he was congratulated by Mr. Webster, then Secretary of State, on having so satisfactorily discharged his duties as chargé d'affaires to New Grenada.

The news of Gen. Semple's return to his native state met with a warm welcome. While he was still in Washington Judge Martin had written, "I regret very much you were not at the seat of Government this winter. You could have been made United States Senator instead of McRoberts, by common consent." His friends were clamorous for him to resume his political activity and put his shoulder to the wheel of Democracy.

Madison County, which he had so long represented in the Legislature, had become somewhat disaffected, and needed stirring up. Whiggery had made advances in Illinois which the old time Democrats felt must be stopped at any hazard. In fact, the whole country was in a very unsettled and dissatisfied condition, Mr. Tyler having disappointed both parties. Recent negotiations with England had resulted in the Ashburton Treaty, which determined the boundaries of the State of Maine, in a manner much resented by the Democrats; and now the Oregon question was violently agitating the public mind. Gen. Semple, bitterly disappointed at the cession of so large a part of Maine to British greed, became immediately one of the ardent advocates of insisting on our full rights in regard to the northwestern boundaries. He was instrumental in calling, at Alton, the first meeting held in the west for the discussion of these grave questions, and here and later at Springfield he made two brilliant speeches, in which he advocated giving immediate notice to England that the United States desired the "joint occupation" of the Oregon country to cease. Gen. Semple's prophesies concerning the future population and riches of this territory, which have since been more than verified, subjected him to the ridicule of his contemporaries.

Shortly after Gen. Semple's return from abroad he could in all probability have been elected to the Senate, but it was deemed advisable by the party leaders that Judge Breese should fill the position at this time, to which determination, Semple willingly acceded, accepting in lieu of the higher position the judgeship in the Supreme Court, left vacant by Breese's promotion. This post was only occupied by him a few months, as the death of Senator Samuel McRoberts

created a vacancy in the Illinois delegation, to which Gov. Ford at once appointed Gen. Semple. A warm personal friendship existed between Ford and Semple, but this was not the ground on which the appointment was made. It was necessary to name a man who was well known all over the state, and who would be acceptable to both the northern and southern sections. As Gen. Semple had always regarded the interests of the whole state, and was heartily in favor of the completion of the Illinois and Michigan canal, Governor Ford felt that the appointment would give general satisfaction. The only possible objection that could be raised was that of residence, as Semple and Breese were practically from the same section. Judge Breese was delighted at having for his colleague so old and good a friend as Gen. Semple. Stephen A. Douglas who was at the time in Congress, wrote his warm congratulations, and added, "I am glad we will spend the winter in Washington together, and propose that we make a mess of the entire delegation. They are all good fellows and would make pleasant companions."

Gen. Semple went to Washington to take up his official duties in December, 1843. He established himself in the house of Mrs. Mount, near Capitol Hill, where he met and became acquainted with the aged widow of Alexander Hamilton and her daughter, Mrs. Holly.

The session of 1844 was looked foward to as promising to be more heated and exciting than any since the time of Jefferson. The Senate was controlled by the Whigs, but the House was Democratic. Many burning questions were before Congress, such as the adjustment of the tariff, the annexation of Texas, the admission of Florida, the troubles and issues on the Bank, and above all the settlement of the Oregon country. There was no subject that aroused the enthusiasm of the west as much as this. During the foregoing session Dr. Linn, of Missouri, had introduced and ably championed in the Senate a bill looking toward the defining of our boundaries. In November, 1843, his death occurred, which was deeply regretted by all who advocated this important measure. Upon Gen. Semple, whose views were already so well known, devolved the duty of carrying on the crusade. He was keenly alivè to the necessity of an early settlement of the question in the interests of the entire west, and particularly of the American pioneers already domiciled on the banks of the Columbia who were virtually under the jurisdiction of England. The Hudson Bay Company, rich and powerful, was becoming more and more insolent in arrogating to itself an arbitrary authority, deeply resented by our people.

The boundary lines had been a source of friction and debate ever since the treaty of 1818, which permitted a joint occupation of the country by Great Britain and the United States, under which conditions all benefits accrued to the former.

It is impossible to enter here into the validity of our claims to the Oregon country up to 54: 40, which were disputed by Great Britain. Gen. Semple had gathered a remarkable fund of information pertaining to the matter, and made out a very clear case in support of our contention. He deprecated the attitude of the eastern states,

that, for fear of war, would relinquish our just rights. He felt he was as much in favor of peace as any man ought to be, but personally he would prefer war before he would yield an inch of American soil.

In order to facilitate the emigration towards the Oregon, he advocated that a direct communication be established by our government overland between the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts. On this vital issue he stood almost alone, finding practically no support in or out of Congress.

On the eighth of January, 1844, Gen. Semple introduced in the Senate a resolution "that the President of the United States be requested to give notice to the Government of Great Britain, that it is the desire of the United States to annul and abrogate the provisions of the 2nd article of the Convention of October 20th, 1818, and indefinitely continued by the Convention signed at London, August 6, 1827." This was a privilege granted either of the contracting parties under the existing treaties, and simply meant that after the expiration of twelve months, the joint occupation should cease, and negotiations be put under way, looking to the amicable adjustment of the boundaries.

The Democrats were divided on the issue. Gen. Semple wrote home at this time, "The Oregon question is still debated every day, we shall undoubtedly have many high winds and squalls," and later, "the discussion still drags itself along, a case of masterly inactivity." The bill was purposely delayed in the Senate for many months, and finally lost. Other resolutions to the same effect were at once introduced, amended and re-amended, the policy of intentional delay prevailing throughout; but finally in the spring of 1846 a bill was passed by both Houses which declared the "joint occupation" at an end.

If this question had not been brought to a focus just at this time, there is a possibility that through procrastination and inertia on the part of our government, Great Britain might have persisted in her unwarranted claims, and this large and fertile region been lost to us forever. As a result of the passage of this bill, negotiations were started, which finally added to the Union the vast territory west of the Rockies up to the 49th parallel of latitude, and down to the line of California, to be followed later by the acquisition of this state also.

To return to Illinois politics, when Governor Ford's appointment of Gen. Semple to the Senate came up in the Legislature for confirmation, it appears that a coalition had been formed against him, and several other candidates for the senatorship were in the field. It was rumored that the whole Illinois delegation, with the exception of Ficklin, had gone over to the enemy, even Breese was reported to have deserted the cause of his old friend. Shields afterwards declared he believed this report to be without foundation.

Eager for the success of his friend, Gen. Shields hurried to Springfield to fight and break up the coalition, and with characteristic eloquence and Irish impetuosity succeeded in bringing back to Semple all the scattering forces which resulted in his almost unanimous election by the Legislature, his opponents withdrawing their names on the final ballot.

Another important measure introduced by Gen. Semple on his return to the Senate was the bill for the reorganization of our consular establishment. During his years of residence in South America he had occasion to notice the grave defects of our system. Our consuls received no salaries whatever, and were granted so little discretionary power and influence as compared with the representatives of other nations, that the prestige of the United States suffered in comparison, and its commerce failed to receive the stimulation it should have had through these important channels.

This bill was referred to the Committee on Commerce, where in spite of its great importance, it lay dormant until long after General Semple's retirement from the Senate.

Being a member of several different committees, his correspondence was enormous, hundreds of letters of application for offices being addressed to him not only from his own state, but from every part of the Union. On account of the engrossing duties of his office his private affairs suffered neglect. He wrote to his wife early in '46, "My business requires my constant attention. I am determined to come home in the spring. From present appearances I fear they want me to run for Governor, but I hope the Convention will not nominate me." He thought seriously of resigning his position, but said: "If my car succeeds I can float along, if not I go to Oregon in 1847."

General Semple's invention of what is called a prairie car is of great interest as being probably the first precursor of the automobile. On the flat prairies of Illinois, where there were as yet few, if any railroads, the value to that section of some cheap means of transportation would have been inestimable. This car was very similar to the old fashioned locomotive in appearance, but differed materially in its mechanical construction, having very broad wheels to enable it to run over the prairies in all kinds of weather, without tracks or special roads.

General Semple secured patents in 1845, and spent much time, energy and money in perfecting its mechanism. He interested Commodore de Kay, of New York who took a large amount of stock, and a company was formed and a charter secured. Capitalists in the east were much impressed with the novelty of the idea and acknowledged fully its merits, but already plunged in speculations of every description, they were fearful of taking up any new thing. Apart from this, great difficulty was experienced in having the new ideas carried out by the mechanics of those days, who had not the appliances necessary to perfect the machinery. But not withstanding these numerous obstacles the prairie car worked successfully, and had General Semple himself been possessed of sufficient means to forward the project, there is no doubt that so-called automobiles would have been in general use fifty years ago.

General Semple was on the point of returning home from Washington when the Mexican War broke out. He was enthusiastically in favor of the annexation of Texas, and was extremely anxious to enter the army and go to the front. These were troublous and momentous times when Congress was called upon to guide the nation through

a critical test. It was generally held that war with Mexico would lead to hostilities with England. Under the circumstances General Semple resisted the temptation to leave his post, as he realized what grave issues might depend upon the casting of one vote. He expressed great satisfaction that his step-son Lansing Mizner had enlisted in the army and regretted that his little boy Eugene was not old enough to buckle on his father's sword and engage the enemy.

Congress was in session all summer, not adjourning till September. On the eve of his departure for home General Semple wrote to his wife, "I was never so sick of politics in all my life as at present. I have seen enough of it and henceforward will keep myself in the cool, sequestered vale of life. "We have not yet heard a word of who is likely to take my place here, but suppose it will be Douglas. General Semple made no effort whatever to retain his seat in the Senate at the expiration of his term, and also firmly declined the overtures of his friends at home to accept the nomination for Governor. He wrote Governor Ford that not unless the serious welfare of the party should be imperiled would he accept this nomination.

The increased changes in political methods from the high ideals of statesmanship which he had always held, created in him a strong aversion to public life. No doubt he enjoyed honor as much as any man, but he could not and would not condescend to the means and methods then in vogue to curry favor. Political preferment and material success were not the paramount considerations that directed him. The compensations of a tranquil domestic life were of as much import to him as the uncertain honors of a fickle public.

On his return to Illinois in 1847 he spent many anxious weeks of uncertainty as to the outcome of his negotiations concerning the prairie car. When he was finally forced to abandon the project, his disappointment was keen. He left the car standing out in the prairie near Springfield where it gradually fell to pieces and was pointed out by passers-by as "Semple's Folly."

Following the failure of this venture, General Semple gave his entire attention to his private affairs. He had the interest of Alton, where he had resided since '37, much at heart and firmly believed in the greatness of its future. He laid out a large tract of land in the upper part of the city which was named Sempletown. He had invested in numerous other real estate holdings here which proved unsuccessful, and believing he might be more fortunate elsewhere, and that his efforts for the welfare of Alton had not been appreciated, he determined to remove permanently from the town.

Four miles below the mouth of the Illinois River on the bluffs of the Mississippi, and extending far back into Jersey County, General Semple bought a large estate. Here, in the heart of the forest he built a comfortable home, where he brought his family to reside in 1853. Again he laid out a town which he named Elsah, in memory of the place in which his forefathers had lived in Scotland; and like them he also created a sort of patriarchal domain, of which he became the central figure. For in spite of the fact that General Semple had throughout his life sincerely held and advocated the most democratic sentiments he had at heart some of the ineradicable instincts

of the aristocrat. In this little retreat of his own, he felt that he was sufficiently removed from the corruption of public life and the ingratitude of men, and here he passed the remainder of his years in a tranquil and peaceful atmosphere. He was once again, several years later, waited upon by a delegation and importuned to accept the nomination for Governor of Illinois, which he firmly declined. The glitter of public honors could no longer lure him from the peace and quiet which he had sought and found.

In the seclusion of his later years he devoted his leisure hours to literary pursuits, having written a valuable history of Mexico and South America, which unfortunately was never published.

The little family circle gradually decreased by the marriages of his sons and daughters, but the old homestead remained always the headquarters for the gathering of his own and his children's children.

In the winter of 1866, on December 20th, still in the prime of life, General Semple passed away at Elsah, Jersey county, Illinois.

General Semple had the misfortune to be in advance of his age. He held ideals impossible of accomplishment at the period in which he lived. Notwithstanding these discouraging conditions, he put forth his best efforts, and rendered his country and his state services of signal value. The example of a private life such as his cannot be overestimated.

In appearance General Semple was far above the average height, presenting a commanding and distinguished bearing, accompanied by that courtly manner which is now a relic of the past.

I cannot, in conclusion, more fittingly sum up the general character of the subject of this sketch than by quoting the eloquent words of one who knew him most intimately in life and regretted most sincerely his loss:

"General Semple was a man of clear, strong mind and self reliant character, kind, affectionate in his manner toward all, but to his family it approached adoration. Positive and decided in his opinions he never aspired to a divided empire, but went for a clean victory or a clean defeat. He had the faculty of attaching to himself warm and devoted friends and his enemies respected while they feared him.

"General Semple was an old fashioned democrat of the 'States Rights School,' and while he in no manner changed his political opinion, he was devoted to the union of the states, a union of consent, and he felt that war was fatal to such a union. He denounced disunion from whatever quarter it came, north or south, and was exceedingly hostile to the style of radical politicians who then ruled the land.

"His moral character was beyodd reproach. His motives of religion were of the most exalted nature and while he had a most profound respect for the church, no sect or denomination could control him, but conscious of his own rectitude and fortified by immutable love and truth he seemed to commune with and be at peace with his Maker. Having thus lived a long and eventful life, holding nearly all the high places of honor and trust which his adopted state could bestow upon him, and in full possession of all his faculties, his spirit passed away to the God who gave it."

Of the four children of General Semple three survive: one son, Ex-Governor Eugene Semple, of the state of Washington; Mrs. L. V. S. Ames, of St. Louis, Mo.; and Mrs. Ashley D. Scott, of the same place.

General Semple's step-son, the Hon. Lansing Mizner, closed a distinguished career in California, he having been one of the pioneer residents of that state, and at one time U. S. minister to Central America.

Mrs. Semple died in the year 1875. Her memory is enshrined in the hearts of all who knew her, for her beneficent deeds and kindly disposition, and for her unusual grace of person and mind.

THE VALUE TO BOTH OF A CLOSER CONNECTION BETWEEN THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

(By Henry McCormick, Normal.)

The State of Illinois supports a system of free public schools in order that its citizens may be intelligent men and women. It recognizes the fact that intelligence promotes virtue, and that virtue is essential to the stability of the State. But it is impossible for the State to be virtuous unless its individual members possess that quality. Consequently it has made ample provisions for the education of all its boys and girls. And it asks us older people, especially those engaged in teaching, to see to it that they receive such an education as will best equip them for life.

People may differ as to what this education should be, but all thoughtful persons will agree that it should create in the learners a strong love for the State, and that to be of any real worth, this love must be based on intelligence. The children must be educated into the belief that cheerful obedience to law is the highest civic virtue; for without such obedience there can be no sound public order, and disorder works injury not only to the State, but to the individual as well. For society is so constituted that the greatest good of the State promotes the greatest good of the individual.

One of the things the schools are trying to do is to impress upon the children, that loyalty (patriotism, if you will) which ends in words is a spurious article; that to be of value it must be embodied in acts. One of its main elements must always be honesty. The man who is not honest is not loyal to the State, no matter how noisy he may be in his protestations of patriotism. To be loyal he must not only be honest with his fellow-man, he must also be honest with the community as a whole. It is claimed that there are men who would scorn to cheat a private individual, but who would not hesitate to cheat the town, the county, or the State, or all three of them, if they could do so without fear of detection. The schools should diminish the number of such men, and they are doing so; at least they are trying to, and that is worth considerable.

Not only are the schools trying to train the children to be honest and true in their attitude towards the State, but they are leading them to see that they owe it such a course of conduct. This seems to be

necessary not only in dealing with children, but in dealing with some adults as well. The belief is quite prevalent among many people that the State owes them everything, and that they owe the State nothing. This is a mistake. The debt is mutual, and the obligation for its discharge equally binding upon both parties. This is a truth, however, that an ignorant person cannot appreciate, as he does not understand why it should be so. "Get everything and give nothing" is usually his motto in dealing with the community. From this false view of life the schools are striving to save the children.

In teaching, as in other occupations, not only must the material upon which we work be considered, but so, also, must the material with which we work. And it is generally conceded that there is no better material than history with which to train the children into good citizenship. This is due to the fact that it deals with people, and pretty much such people as the children see every day. It tells of their acts, the motives which prompted them to act, and shows the results of their acts upon themselves and others. Any history is thus valuable because it reveals the experience of the race.

With beginners, however, the history of their own country is more valuable than that of a foreign country, and the history of their own State is the most valuable of all. It touches their interests at most points. It is concrete, and the young mind grasps the concrete more readily than it does the abstract. And of all phases of history biography is the most concrete, because it is the most human. Consequently in teaching history and the civic virtues to children, there is no material that can compare in value with biography. There they learn of men and women of moral worth, and studying about such reacts beneficently upon their own character. The history of Illinois is rich in the biographies of men and women who were actuated by high motives, and so were able to accomplish a work for the State that is still felt, and shall be felt for ages to come. Their privations and victories, their high aims and heroic deeds, their prayers and works form the warp and woof of our history. It is not necessary to mention their names in this presence. They are familiar to you all, and so are their struggles. They fought a good fight, and we have entered into their labors. We are reaping a rich harvest as the result of their sowing. And we teachers demand, as a matter of justice to the children of the State, that the record of their patient sufferings and heroic achievements be placed within our reach, to be used in fitting our pupils to carry forward the work so ably begun by those who have gone before. For it should be borne in mind that those who sit under our instruction to-day will in a few years be the men and women who will be influencing the destiny of the State for weal or woe.

The State Historical Society is collecting and preserving such material as I have described. It is ransacking private and public libraries, delving into State and national archives, and even into the archives of foreign nations to obtain a knowledge of the men who first explored the State, and made known to the world its prairies, woodlands, and rivers. It is faithfully striving to rescue from oblivion the memory of the men and women who first settled here among wolves

and savage Indians; and who dared the ravages of fever and ague, milksickness, and typhoid fever; who endured great privations, often suffering for the common necessaries of life, but who, having mapped out their course, hung on with grim determination. Their houses, in many instances, were the rudest kind of cabins, with earthen floor, axe-hewn stools, and oiled paper windows, with no pictures, no papers, no books. But through the doors of those comfortless homes they could, by faith, see the commodious frame dwelling into which they should move when faith came to fruition, and they never doubted but what it would do so at some time in the near future.

No palatial High School invited their children to its well-lighted, well-ventilated class-rooms; even the "little red school house" was missing. Yet it would be a mistake to think they allowed their children to grow up in ignorance; they were not that kind of people. Some settler's cabin was first used as a schoolroom, and if there were not enough benches for the children, they sat upon dried leaves, prairie hay, or even the floor. These poor accommodations were improved upon as soon as possible by the building of a special cabin for a schoolhouse. And how glad they were when they could get hold of some peripatetic schoolmaster, even if he could do no more than teach the elements of the "three Rs". The sacrifices made by these people to give their children even a little schooling are not appreciated as they should be. The State has made liberal provisions for the education of our children. Then the parents had to pay the teacher—not always in money, for that article was scarce in pioneer days; but in calves, colts, or wheat. And the cheerfulness with which they gave these articles is highly to be commended. They gave the best they had, because they esteemed the education of their children of more value than the products of their farms.

And they did not stop with the intellectual education of their children; but took great pains with their moral and religious training as well. There is no more interesting chapter in the history of Illinois than the one treating of the efforts of the pioneers to establish morality and religion in the land. They felt there could be no lasting social order unless it was based on intelligence, morality and religion. Although there were no elegant churches with graceful spires pointing sinners to heaven, the cabin of the pioneer was always open to the itinerant preacher. And what hardships and privations those preachers endured in order to proclaim the gospel of their Master to the people! They swam turbulent rivers, crossed pathless prairies, and often spent the night in the woods without fire or food, and in constant danger from the treacherous savage. Their preaching sometimes lacked the polish of the college and the theological school, but more than made up for the lack in directness and fervor. Their message being delivered at the hearthstone, it found its way the more readily to the hearts of the hearers, and cheered them in their isolation. Illinois owes much to the labors of Peck, Walker, Cartwright, and others like them, who, because of their love for humanity, made an indelible impression for good upon the history of the state.

I know of [nothing that can have a higher educational value along the lines here indicated than the proceedings of this Society. The

papers read here from year to year contain such a vast amount of concrete material that it is a great pity to deprive the children of the benefit that would accrue from their study. No school text can enter so fully into details; it would be too cumbersome; and details are what count in teaching history to children. Through them the children accompany the pioneers on their tedious, and sometimes dangerous journey from their old home to Illinois. By the study of these papers they also see the primitive cabins, with their still more primitive furnishings. The souls of the inmates are laid open before them, and they become familiar with the homesickness, and with the longing and yearning for the letters that were so slow in coming. They witness the heroic struggles with Indians, disease, and death; and become acquainted with the lack of medical skill in sickness, and of religious consolation in dying. They also learn of the high resolve that will not give way to discouragement, privation, sickness, or death even, until compelled to, but rises above them all, and says we will not submit; we will be masters of our environment. It is not difficult to see that such heroic conduct, such devotion, will be sure to make an impression for good upon the pupils.

Since the proceedings of the State Historical Society can be made so valuable to the children of the State, they should be accessible to them. How they can be made thus accessible is a point worthy of serious consideration; and perhaps we can learn how to accomplish our purpose by observing how other organizations accomplish theirs.

You have noticed, no doubt, that speakers at farmers' institutes and writers on agricultural topics never tire of urging that whatever we would have appear in the lives of the people we must put into the schools. To show their faith in the value of their theory, they insist that elementary agriculture, floriculture and horticulture be taught in the schools—hence the school garden. Without at all discussing the merits of the school garden as an attachment to the school, the fact of its widespread existence shows the wisdom of the course pursued by its advocates. It also points out the method by which this society can best accomplish one of the main purposes of its existence.

One of these purposes is the accumulating of facts from which the future historian shall write the history of the State. For with all gratitude to Brown, Reynolds, Breese, Ford, Davidson and Stuvé, Mason and John Moses, and with a full acknowledgment of our indebtedness to them, we believe that the history of Illinois has not yet been written, and probably will not be for years to come. But when the proper man arrives he will find abundance of reliable material at hand through the labors of this society.

Another main object of the society is to spread among the people a knowledge of the State and of the men and women who have been instrumental in advancing it to its present high rank. And while it is important to collect facts for the future historian, it is still more important to spread a knowledge of these facts among the people. The facts are of value only as the people become interested in them, and knowledge must precede interest.

These facts have other values than that of information merely, important as that is; they have a high ethical value. Men's motives

and acts may be changed by them, and their lives made of more worth to themselves and others. This is not claiming too much for the facts of history when properly presented. For if a knowledge of what others have done, and of the results which followed, do not influence men's lives, then nothing but the grace of God can.

A closer union between the State Historical Society and the public schools would be highly beneficial to both. The people would become interested more generally in the work of the society, and many would join its numbers that do not now, as they regard it simply as an instrument for gathering and storing up dry and musty facts for later generations to puzzle their brains over. This, of course, is a wrong conception of the society and its purpose; and pains should be taken to remove it. The proposed union would be sure to remove it, as the proceedings of the society would reach the fireside of the people by means of their children. It is generally true that if the children are interested, their parents will be.

As a consequence of this interest, more of the people will become enthusiastic students of Illinois history. They do not belong in that category at present. The ignorance of the people in regard to the history of their own State is marvelous, or would be, were it not so common. This is true of our young people especially. They know many facts about the discoveries, explorations, and early settlements in the United States, especially along the Atlantic coast. They know something of the wars of the country, of the different administrations, and of Jackson's fight upon the bank of the United States. But when questioned upon the explorations and early settlements of Illinois, or upon the struggles between the red man and the white for the possession of its soil, they are dumb. And they could easily prove an alibi as far as any knowledge of its educational and industrial development is concerned.

This greatly to be desired interest in the history of the State will lead people to become friends and supporters of the society, and the more friends and supporters the society has, the greater will be its usefulness. It never will be as useful as it should be, and may be, until it has gained the esteem and support of the people. The best way to gain this is through the children.

Among the benefits which the schools would derive from a closer connection with the historical society is that they would be supplied with proper material with which to create in the children what may be termed the historic spirit. This spirit once created would beget a love for the study of history instead of the abhorrence with which many children regard the subject at present. For deplore it as we may, there is no denying the fact that many of them do abhor it. To them it is tedious and tasteless, and they are always glad when through with it; and they are usually through with it when they have "carried" the subject in school. Their study of history ceases at that point.

A third benefit that would come from a closer union of the State Historical Society and the schools is that the children would grow up to be men and women with an intelligent love for their State and her institutions. Love is the fulfilling of the law; and unfortunate is the state whose people do not love it.

For the reasons cited above, and for others not named, the proceedings of this society should be placed in every school house at the expense of the State. It will require money to do this. And yet the expense for doing it would not be very great. There are only about thirteen thousand school houses in the state, and it would cost but comparatively little more than is paid for publication at present, as the forms are made up, anyway, and the additional expense would only be for paper and binding.

It may be urged that the Legislature will not make an appropriation for this purpose. Perhaps not. Has it been asked to make it? It surely will not make the appropriation unless asked to do so. If it is not worth asking for, it is not worth having. The society should ask for it, and ask with confidence, feeling that the work in which it is engaged is sure to yield large returns in the way of more intelligent citizenship. It is confidently believed that if the members of this society used their influence with the members of the Legislature from their districts, and the matter was brought before the Legislature in a proper manner, the appropriation would be made. But again let me say it never will be made unless it is asked for.

It may be objected that even if the appropriation was made and the proceedings placed in every school house in the State, but comparatively little benefit would be derived therefrom; that the books would not be used, and would eventually serve as kindlings with which to start the fire on some cold morning. This might be so, and it might not; it would depend largely upon the teacher and the county superintendent. Both of those august personages can be reached, however, and their interest enlisted in behalf of the work which the society is attempting. Many of them are in full sympathy with it at present, and more will be when they know what the work is. A large number of teachers are kept from attempting to teach the history of the State by the dearth of material. No one who has not tried to teach the history of Illinois to children can know how difficult it is to find proper material to place in the hands of the pupils, or even of the teachers of the rural districts. This society, it is hoped, will take steps to supply these lacks, and remove the difficulties that stand in the way of the teacher. It is doing so already to some extent by the distribution of its proceedings. It will do so more extensively in the near future when its publications reach every school district in the State. If this cannot be done by obtaining a direct appropriation from the Legislature, cannot that body be induced to order the State printer to print a sufficient number of copies to supply the schools? Perhaps this is the best way to accomplish this laudable object.

The university can do much towards popularizing the history of the State. While the province of that institution is to deal with the higher walks of learning, yet it might find time to give attention to this subject. A semester's work in the history of Illinois would mean much. Many of the hundreds of young men and women who go out from the university to teach school would be more likely to teach the subject in their own schools than if they had not studied it themselves. [1]

[1 The course recommended by Professor McCormick is now offered at the State University.—Ed.]

To have studied it at the university would give the subject a dignity in their estimation it would not otherwise have. They might even regard it as equal in importance to the history of ancient Persia, Greece or Rome. Indeed, some people think to be ignorant of the history of one's own state is more humiliating than it is to be ignorant of the history of any of those countries. Not that they would neglect the history of ancient nations, but that they would have people know that there is such a subject as the history of Illinois, and that it is well worth the attention of classical scholars even.

The normal schools, also, can do much along this line. These schools have been established by the State, and are being supported for the express purpose of preparing teachers for the schools of the State. And surely young men and women who go out from those schools with little or no knowledge of the history of the State are not well qualified to teach in its schools.

At present some of the normal schools offer a term's work in the history of Illinois. Perhaps all of them do; I am not sure on this point. This term's work, however, is elective. Students need not take it unless they choose to; and but few of them take it, as they are in a hurry to get through. Consequently the classes are small, and will continue to be small until the study is made obligatory. When that is done, the study of Illinois history will receive an impetus that shall be felt from Cairo to East Dubuque.

It will not be taught in all of the schools, however, until the school law requires all who teach in the schools of the State to be examined in its history as it now requires them to be examined in the history of the United States. This is not asking too much. And it is either a remarkable oversight in the State, or else criminal negligence, that it does not insist on its own history being taught to its children. This will not be done, however, until, as has been stated above, the teachers are required to stand an examination in the subject in order to obtain a license to teach.

Can the law be amended so as to make this examination obligatory? Many believe it can, and more believe it should be.[1] It is certain that until it is done, the great wealth of historic material which this society is accumulating will reach but comparatively few of the people. The volumes will reach the libraries of those who need them least; and remain there. The members of the society will be delighted by them, and some benefit may ooze through to their immediate circles of acquaintance. But the young people, those whom the society should have it constantly in mind to interest in the history of our noble State will not be reached. For their sakes I plead that the Illinois Historical Society come into closer touch with the public schools, either by the means indicated in this brief paper, or by some other means equally effective.

[1] It may be noted that this proposal was substantially carried into effect by the General Assembly in 1905.—Ed.]

BISHOP CHASE AND JUBILEE COLLEGE.

(By Rev. C. W. Leffingwell, D. D.)

References to the subject of this paper may be found in the following books and pamplets: Bishop Chase's Reminiscences (1848); The Life of Philander Chase, by Laura Chase Smith, E. P Dutton & Co., New York, 1903; Convention Journals, Dioceses of Ohio and of Illinois; Journals of the General Convention; White's Apostle of the Western Church; The Motto, a periodical of Jubilee College; The life of Bishop Chase, by John N. Norton, (1860); Church Review, Vol. 1; History of the Diocese of Chicago, Francis J. Hall, D. D.; Papers and pamlets on file in the Diocesan Archives, Chicago. The first two volumes named above have been most frequently quoted in the following pages.

To few men has it been given to organize two dioceses, to accomplish the founding and partial endowment of two colleges, and to share in the making of two great States. Philander Chase, sturdy pioneer Bishop of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, has left this record, the result of a life of extraordinary energy, devotion, and opportunity. He came of a family of pioneers; was born of Puritan stock, Dec. 14, 1775, on the banks of the Connecticut, where the present town of Cornish, N. H., is located; the fifteenth child of Dudley and Allace Chase. One child died in infancy. Fourteen children of this remarkable family grew up to be useful and honored men and women. (Life of Philander Chase, p. 17.) A log cabin was the place of his birth, the shelter of his family in three different States, his episcopal palace, and the home of his age. The courageous spirit of the mother who gave birth and pious nurture to fifteen children, was illustrated in the following of her husband from Fort No. 4, on the Connecticut river, to the heart of the wilderness in 1765. The Indians were hostile. She was in constant anxiety. She would not be detained by expostulations or entreaties of friends. "I will go," she said, "with all my children, and will endure any hardship, if you will but give me a speedy conveyance to my husband. If there be no shelter, or fence or fort, his faithful arm will guard me, and his trusty men will aid him; their God, who is above all, ruleth and directeth all; He will provide."

A good neighbor took her and her seven little ones, with supplies, in a frail, open canoe. They made the journey safely. One can imagine the surprise and alarm with which the coming of the helpless ones filled the hearts of the woodsmen. "Are you come here to die before your time?" exclaimed the agitated husband and father. "We have no shelter for you and you will perish." "Cheer up, my faithful," replied Mistress Allace, "let the smiles and rosy cheeks of your children, and the health and cheerfulness of your wife make you joyful. If you have no house you have strength and hands to make one. The God we worship will bless us and help us to obtain shelter. Cheer up, cheer up! my faithful!"

BISHOP PHILANDER CHASE.

In a few days a comfortable cabin was built, and there was sheltered with her children this first woman who had penetrated the wilderness above Charlestown.

Under the tuition of the brothers, Philander prepared for Dartmouth College, entering at sixteen and graduating in 1795. While in college he found a book of Common Prayer, was impressed with the beauty and dignity of the services, brought it to the attention of his family and neighbors, with the result that the old Congregational meeting house in Cornish (out of repair) was torn down and in its place an Episcopal church was erected. Such was the aggressive and impressive power of character and conviction which carried this remarkable man through a life of great achievement.

Young Chase taught school for a time; acted as lay reader; was married in his twenty-first year to Mary Fay, a girl of sixteen; was ordained deacon in St. George's Church, New York, by Bishop Provoost, in 1798; was itinerant missionary in western New York; was ordained priest in St. Paul's Church, New York, by Bishop Provoost, in 1799. The record of a single year shows 4,000 miles travelled, 14 adults and 319 infants baptised, 213 sermons preached, seven parishes organized. Wherever he finds two or three gathered together and reverently disposed, he prays and preaches; in the woods, in the wayside hut, on a vessel's deck, by the camp-fire of the Indian; cheering the suffering, consoling the dying, administering the sacraments. "On a floor of rough hewn planks, with scarce a pane of glass to admit the light, we knelt down together in the little cabin, and there the holy offices were reverently used." (Reminiscences.)

On account of the delicate health of his wife he sought work in the South (1805), and is recorded as "the first Protestant minister who had ever preached in Louisiana." The parish of Christ Church, New Orleans was organized and Mr. Chase became its rector. Of those who attended the first service (November, 1805) he writes in his diary, that they "were numerous and of the most respectable Americans, and very decorous in their conduct."

All the household goods, books, clothing were lost by the wreck of the Polly Eliza, which followed the vessel bearing the family. The rector's small salary was insufficient to supply the needs of his family (he had then two sons) and were supplemented by teaching. To his abounding energy and enthusiasm no amount of work seemed formidable.

Mr. Chase remained in New Orleans six years, laying good foundations for the building up of education and religion among the most intelligent and influential families in Louisiana. Mrs. Chase was greatly improved in health. Her tireless husband soon became rector of Christ Church, Hartford, where he continued until 1817. Of his life in Hartford, Conn., he writes:

"In the bosom of an enlightened society, softened by the hand of urbanity and kindness, my enjoyments, crowned with abundance of temporal blessings, were as numerous and refined as belong to the lot of man. Of the time I spent in this lovely city I can never speak in ordinary terms. It is to my remembrance as a dream of more than terrestrial delight. Of its sweets I tasted for a while and thought

myself happy, but God, who would train His servants more by the reality of suffering than by ideal and transitory bliss, saw fit to direct my thoughts to other and more perilous duties."

This lovely home and happy work were left behind, as the born missionary felt the irresistible impulse of conquest and heard the call of the wilderness pleading for help. The leaving of wife and children, the comforts of home and the pleasures of social life, to take up again the ministry of the camp and cabin without any pledge of support, was the most heroic act of this remarkable life. From that hour Philander Chase was a maker of history, a factor in the world's progress, a leader of men, a founder of institutions, a benefactor of his country. By a toilsome and perilous journey in the early spring of 1817, he reached his missionary field, and after some months of itinerant work, traveling in wagons and on horseback, he was joined by his wife and infant son and made a home on a farm near Worthington, Ohio. In May, 1818, his beloved wife was called to rest, and the husband was left with an infant son in his arms and two boys to maintain in Dartmouth College.

In June, a month later, the first convention of the Diocese of Ohio met at Columbus. Philander Chase was elected bishop, and canonical notices were sent to the several dioceses. On going to Philadelphia to receive his consecration, the bishop-elect was informed that consents from a majority of the dioceses (expressed through their standing committees) could not be obtained. A board of inquiry was demanded, and after months of delay and anxiety for the candidate, no reasonable objection could be discovered. The consecration took place in Philadelphia, on Feb. 11, 1819, Bishop White presiding. Other consecrators were Bishops Hobart, Kemp, and Croes.

The opposition to the consecration of Bishop Chase, and the later opposition to his plans in the founding of colleges, have never been fully accounted for. The former has generally been charged to some incidents in his relations to slaves and slave-holders, during his residence in the south. The only slave that he ever owned he emancipated. The fact is, everybody who succeeds in doing much of anything, is sure to antagonize some people. There are two kinds of people, those who are trying to do things, and those who are trying to prevent them. Bishop Chase, perhaps, had more than his share of attention from the latter.

On Sunday, July 4, 1819, Bishop Chase was united in marriage to Sophia May Ingraham, whose nephew (Wm. Ingraham Kip) afterwards became the first bishop of California. She was in every way a woman worthy to stand in high places, and proved to be a true helpmeet to her husband in the labors and trials of his later life.

The work was hard and the life was hard, in those early days in Ohio, when the bishop was giving everything and receiving nothing but the answer of a good conscience. There was not enough money coming in (no stated salary) to pay the wages of a helper on the farm. With his own hands the bishop had to minister to the necessities of his family. He was sometimes discouraged and doubtful. There were many painful hours. His lot seemed to be harder than that of the first Apostles. They would not leave the ministry of the word,

said the bishop, to serve tables, while he found himself "obliged to leave the higher duties of his calling to serve stables." But later he realized that those dark hours were most prolific of good. With all the wear and worry of domestic affairs the work that he did in his diocese was immense. The Convention Journal gives the following statistics for one year:

Travelled on horseback ..... 1,279 miles;
Confirmed 174;
Baptized 50;
Preached ..... 182 times.

There were but six clergymen in the diocese, beside the Bishop. In 1821 he accepted the charge of the college in Cincinnati, for a time, presiding at the graduation of one class. Two years later (1823) came the inspiration which resulted in the founding of Kenyon College at Gambier. An appreciative notice, in the British *Critic*, of the Bishop's work in Ohio, was the incident which suggested an appeal to churchmen in England for aid in building a college and seminary, primarily for the education of ministers for his missionary field. Determined and persistent opposition was encountered, even from some of the most influential bishops, and that opposition followed Bishop Chase to England, in private letters and printed protests. This made his difficult mission far more difficult, at times most distressing. The opposition seems in part to have grown out of the idea that it was discreditable for America or the American church to ask anything of England. There was a disposition in the east to centralize all church interests there, and a feeling that the prestige and influence of the General Theological Seminary in New York might be impaired if another institution should be established. Bishop Chase, while acting entirely within his right to provide a seminary for his diocese, was referred to as "schismatic." A remark which the Bishop made concerning his opponents in this matter, might be quoted in some other cases of eastern estimate of western affairs: None of these persons had crossed the Alleghany mountains. They all lived on the Atlantic side; therefore, their judgment was not much esteemed, for this simple reason—it was a one-sided judgment."

Nothing daunted, the great missionary of the middle west did go and did succeed. For the sake of his Master and his mission he feared not to stand before kings. By his sturdy personality and apostolic spirit he won the confidence of some of the best people in England, and instead of being "ruined" by his presumption, as some of the American bishops had prognosticated, he brought home within a year five thousand pounds sterling, and friendships which he enjoyed through life, and which subsequently yielded much revenue in aid of his good works in another field. A clergyman of the English Church, near the close of his mission, wrote to him: "All pretension that you have degraded the American Church in the eyes of the Church of England, must be put out of countenance. The contrary is most certainly the case; you have raised it in our estimation, and endeared it to us."

Among the notable and generous contributors in England were Lord Gambier and Lord Kenyon, whose names are thus permanently

associated with the development of Ohio and the progress of education in that noble state; from the former the locality was named, and from the latter, the college.

Forty-three days were spent on the ocean, in the return voyage. To the convention of his diocese which was held after his return (November, 1824), meeting in Chillicothe (there were four clergymen and twenty-three lay delegates present), in reporting the success of his mission to England, the bishop said: "Never was benevolence more disinterested; never was christian zeal more active. Delicacy as well as generosity characterized our benefactors. The task of soliciting being assumed by the most respectable characters, the rich feasts of intellectual intercourse were everywhere spread before your Bishop, and he has reason to bless God for giving him grace in the eyes of this favored people, whose God is the Lord, and whose kindness to him was evidently the fruit of the gospel of peace." Of course the convention was very glad to praise the Bishop and to approve all that he had done, though he had received no encouragement from Ohio churchmen on going forth, and later he received little but ingratitude.

The Bishop began to collect students in his own house even before the location for the new seminary was chosen. The following from his convention address, 1825, in which the location was to be decided, sets forth the principle by which he was guided both in Ohio and Illinois: "Put your seminary on your own domain; be owners of the soil on which you dwell, and let the tenure of every lease and deed depend on the express condition that nothing detrimental to the morals and studies of youth be allowed on the premises."

A year later, after much opposition to the location of the institution in the country, the site was fixed in Knox county, and there today still flourish the schools built on that foundation of generosity of the Mother Church of England.

Of the clearing of the site, superintended by the bishop, living in a tent cabin, cooking his own meals, and writing his letters by a "hog's lard lamp"; of the erection of buildings, with the unprecedented regulation of total abstinence among the workmen; of the Sunday school and Sunday services in the woods; of visitations to the scattered flock in the wilderness; of the temporary school sheltered in log cabins and fed at the bishop's table; of his fruitless struggle in Washington to secure a grant of land for the Gambier institution; of his strenuous and romantic life, beginning his letter-writing at 3:00 o'clock in the morning; of those foundation days, that seem so far away, yet are not beyond the memory of some now living, the story is intensely interesting, and we are grateful to the busy bishop for having preserved such an account of it in his "Reminiscences." These can seldom be procured in our day, but a very excellent life of the bishop, mostly compiled from the "Reminiscences", has lately been written by his grand daughter, Mrs. Laura Chase Smith, published by Messrs. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. To the courtesy of this firm we are indebted for the portrait of Bishop Chase which accompanies this sketch.

Henry Caswall, a young Englishman who came to Ohio in 1828 and afterwards graduated at Kenyon, thus describes his first visit to the Bishop:

"I requested to be driven to the bishop's residence, and to my consternation I was deposited at the door of a small and rough log cabin, which could boast of but one little window, composed of four squares of the most common glass. 'Is this the bishop's palace?' I involuntarily exclaimed. 'Can this,' I thought, 'be the residence of the apostolic man whose praise is in all the churches, and who is venerated by so many excellent persons in my native country?' It was even so.

"On knocking for admittance the door was opened by the bishop's wife, who told me that the Bishop had gone to his mill for some flour and would soon return. I had waited but a few minutes when I heard a powerful voice outside, and immediately after the bishop entered with one of his head workmen. The good prelate, then 53 years of age, was of more than ordinary size, and his black cassock bore evident tokens of his recent visit to the mill."

This prelate, whose palace was a log cabin, and whose cassock bore the decoration of the flouring mill, was a founder of institutions, a moulder of civilization in the empire of the Middle West.

At the opening of the school on the bishop's farm the first year, there were twenty-five students including five Indian boys. Board was $1.25 a week and tuition from $10.00 to $20.00 a year. From the diary of the first pupil the following is quoted by his biographer:

"Philander Chase, the founder of Kenyon College, was a man of heroic mold in every way. His body was of gigantic proportions, with a strength and endurance which, in these softer days, seem almost fabulous, and his mind was of the same commanding proportions as his body. Add to these an indomitable will, impatient of restraint or opposition, and one can see with the mind's eye something of the striking and altogether extraordinary personality of the founder of the first western college. He was a veritable giant, raised up, as it would seem, for the special work that was given him to do."

Chief-Justice, Salmon P. Chase, a nephew of the Bishop, writing of these days, says:

"Out of school I did chores, took grain to the mill and brought back meal and flour; milked the cows, drove them to and from pasture, took wool to the carding factory over the Scioto—an important journey to me—built fires and brought in wood in the winter time; helped gather sugar water and make sugar when winter first turned to spring; helped plant and sow in the later spring. In most of whatever a boy could do on a farm I did a little."

He speaks of going one morning to Columbus, on horseback, and after making some purchases returning before breakfast—eighteen miles!

Kenyon is perhaps the only college in the world that started in log cabins: students, professors, and president all lived for some years in five or six of these rude shelters. Many eminent men have been students of this pioneer institution. Besides Chief-Justice Chase, may be mentioned Justices Davis and Matthews, President Hayes,

Edwin M. Stanton, the Secretary of War. The latter declared: "If I am anything, I owe it to Kenyon." The late Bishop Wilmer, five living bishops, and many of our prominent clergy graduated at Kenyon.

During the recent commencement week at Gambier (1904), the 76th, in the history of Kenyon College, the following appreciative and humorous verses were read at a glee club festival:

"The first of Kenyon's goodly race
Was that great man, Philander Chase;
He climbed the Hill and said a prayer,
And founded Kenyon College there.

"He dug up stones, he chopped down trees,
He sailed across the stormy seas,
And begged at every noble's door,
And also that of Hannah More.

"The king, the queen, the lords, the earls,
They gave their crowns, they gave their pearls,
Until Philander had enough,
And hurried homeward with the stuff.

"He built the college, built the dam,
He milked the cow, he smoked the ham,
He taught the classes, rang the bell,
And spanked the naughty Freshmen well.

"And thus he worked with all his might
For Kenyon College day and night;
And Kenyon's heart still keeps a place
Of love for old Philander Chase."

On this occasion announcement was made of a gift of $50,000 by Andrew Carnegie, to found a chair of Economics in honor of Edwin M. Stanton, a former student.

The crisis in the bishop's life came in 1831. His episcopal and educational work had been greatly prospered; the substantial stone buildings of the college and seminary had been completed and filled with more than a hundred students; the prospect was most hopeful. Then discontent was fostered in the faculty by the very men whom the bishop had nominated and supported. They sympathized with those outside who desired to secularize the institution and sacrifice its religious and theological character, in consideration of which its endowments and benefactions had been secured. Discontent developed into discourtesy. "Episcopal tyranny was denounced so openly that the bishop could not fail to hear it. Not being sustained by his diocesan convention to which he explained the situation, the Bishop promptly resigned his headship of the institution and of the diocese, and retired with his family to the shelter of a log cabin on a tract belonging to Mrs. Russell, twenty miles away in the woods. "The presiding over such a diocese would be but the carrying on of a perpetual war; a thing most abhorrent to his soul." He could not and would not consent to be ignored as bishop in an institution of which he was the founder and *ex-officio* president.

In view of all accessible records and information, the action of the convention seems indefensible. Conventions like corporations appear sometimes to have no souls. His resignation was accepted with

heartless indifference. Two lay members of the convention afterwards declared: "Bishop Chase has been most cruelly injured."

The bishop had not received enough from the diocese to pay his expenses, yet the convention could meet year after year on Gambier Hill, partaking of his hospitality, without taking any steps to provide for his support, to pay his expenses, or to help the college. He had given to the diocese the most energetic years of his life, had founded and moderately endowed a seminary and college in face of opposition even from his own people; yet now, because he claimed the right to rule it, as those who contributed to it, desired, a few men who never gave a dollar to the college, made it imposible for a man of his high spirit to remain. It was, as his biography justly remarks, "a sad ending, humanly speaking, of the great and noble work upon which he had ventured his hopes, his fortune, his very life and that of his best beloved, his home and friends both in this country and England."

Some have regarded the bishop's resignation as hasty and ill advised; perhaps no one now approves the action of the Ohio convention, or regards the conduct of the faculty with favor. No one, certainly, can refrain from sympathy with the bishop, when, as he says, "he beheld the whole diocese, for whom he had labored so much and so faithfully, now as one man combined against him, not a voice being heard in his behalf."

From the temporary shelter of the ruined cabin in the "Valley of Peace," the bishop in 1832 removed his family to the virgin wilderness of Michigan, and the place chosen for his clearing, in the St. Joseph country, he named "Gilead," for there he hoped to find balm for his wounded soul. There, under the energetic and intelligent industry of gifted parents and dutiful children, a thrifty farm was developed and a happy home was made, the land flowing with the milk of the dairy and the wild honey of the woods. There was "a limpid lake full of the finest fish," the forest and prairies were well stocked with wild deer and grouse. The fields were enlarged, cattle increased to more than a hundred, cheese and butter were plenty, a comfortable house and a mill were erected. "Not a day, not an hour, was spent in idleness."

In making provisions for his family the bishop did not forget his holy calling. In a wide circuit his pastoral visits were extended. "What though there was no wordly emolument attached to his holy duties in God's husbandry," he writes. "He was but imitating the first preachers of Christianity, by paying no regard to the circumstance; if they had waited until salaries had been prepared for their maintenance, no gospel had been spread throughout the world."

But the bishop was not to linger long in this arboreal paradise. The wilderness again held out her hands to him. At the primary convention of the Diocese of Illinois, held in Peoria March 9, 1835, Bishop Chase was chosen as the episcopal head, and invited to remove to the diocese. "There was something so unexpected," he writes, "and yet so solemn, in the reception of the above appointment, that the writer could not help feeling as if a Divine hand were laid upon him, and a voice from God were uttered in his ears."

In 1835 there were four Episcopal clergymen at work in Illinois. The Rev. Isaac W. Hallam, St. James' parish, Chicago; the Rev. Palmer Dyer, St. Paul's, Peoria; the Rev. Henry Tullidge, at Jacksonville, and the Rev. James C. Richmond, at Rushville.

The bishop was at that time 60 years old, hale and hearty, and somewhat heavy for itinerant duty. His unusual stature, his keen eyes, his vigorous action, his impressive demeanor, attracted attention everywhere. He was evidently a man of the first rank. A writer (quoted in a private letter) says: "Whether in the log cabin of Ohio, or in the magnificent halls of Lord Kenyon, surrounded with the refinements of the Old World, Bishop Chase was equally at home and capable of winning golden opinions."

Accompanied by the Rev. Samuel Chase, who had married the daughter of his niece, Bishop Chase was soon on his way to Chicago, "then a newly built town, of a few houses and flourishing trade." From Chicago the bishop goes to Peoria, the most prosperous town in the State, then to Springfield, where Mr. Chase arranges to open a day school. From Jacksonville the bishop writes to his wife in Gilead:

"How delightfully does it picture to my mind's eye your peaceful state in Gilead—the herds of innocent animals all around you; the corn all planted; the sweet garden which I toiled to arrange for your enjoyment, so flourishing; Mrs. R., our loved niece, and Mary, now recovered, and full of employment! How full your cup of earthly felicity! May it put you in mind of the peace of heaven, where our joys are permanent. Here, alas, how transient!"

In the summer, Bishop Chase returned to his family in Michigan, driving alone 350 miles, sometimes "across wide and trackless prairies, and through deep and muddy ponds and streams." Later he writes: "When reflecting on the temerity of this enterprise in his even then advanced period of life, he can scarcely refrain from shuddering at the perils he passed; and at the same time adoring the Divine goodness which kept him from imminent death."

By the records of the General Convention of 1835, in which the Diocese of Illinois was admitted and the choice of bishop was ratified, it appears that then there were in the diocese one bishop, four Presbyters, and two deacons; four parishes with 39 communicants; 16 baptisms were reported, 13 confirmations, 58 Sunday school pupils, three marriages and five burials. In the three dioceses into which the original Diocese of Illinois has been divided, there are (1905) five bishops, over 150 clergy, and about 30,000 communicants.

After some months of toilesome visitation of his few sheep in the wilderness, the bishop, in his "Reminiscences", thus describes the situation:

"There was no salary attached to his appointment; no home for the bishop; nor parish to receive him and maintain him for his parochial services; no school of the prophets founded, or even proposed to be founded, and patronized in his new diocese. But one church in the whole diocese, (that at Jacksonville,) and only three or four clergymen, and two of them on the wing, with no permanent support to detain them.

"What hope, then, was there to cheer the writer in his return to his wilderness Diocese of Illinois? His best days had been spent in another diocese, once most beloved. His meridian strength had been exhausted on other fields, till they were white unto harvest, and others were reaping where he had sown. He had now become too old and unwieldy to travel on horseback through the wide prairies, and over the unbridged sloughs, as he had done in Ohio, through mud and beech roots. The necessity inevitably followed: this work must be done by others. And whence could these be obtained in sufficient numbers to the vast demand, but from sons of the soil? And how could these be duly prepared but in a well-founded, well-arranged, and liberally-supported school, as had been founded on Gambier hill, in Ohio?"

To England, the Bishop again turned for aid, as he had done in 1823 for his Kenyon college, and thither he went, spending nearly a year in his mission. After his return from England, with encouraging results, he proceeded to remove his family from Michigan to his new and almost unexplored diocese in Illinois. It was a picturesque procession which started from Gilead on that July day in 1836; first the ox-team driven by the hired man; next came the bishop and Mrs. Chase with some of the children, in the Quaker coach; then followed the farm wagon drawn by "Pompey" and "Nero", while "Cincinnatus" with a youngster on his back, brought up the rear. In Peoria county were found lands "suitable for the establishment of an institution for the encouragement of religion and learning." About fifteen miles from Peoria Bishop Chase preempted a farm for his family and built thereon a log cabin which he called "Robinsnest", beeause "it consisted of mud and sticks and was filled with young ones." The bishop had collected perhaps ten thousand dollars, (the most of it in England) which he determined to invest in land as the safest endowment for the proposed institution. The time spent in collecting the money, following the panic of 1837, in waiting the opportunity to buy land from the government, in securing release from preemptions of the land he had selected, and in visiting his scattered flock in the wilderness of Illinois, held back the work on the college buildings several years. The good bishop at last secured over thirty-two hundred acres, mostly in Peoria county, and selected a beautiful site for the building, one mile from his Robinsnest, overlooking the valley of the Kickapoo. In his "Reminiscences" he describes it as "commanding a cheering and variegated prospect up and down the two branches of a beautiful stream of pure water. It looks to the south and has a fine grove of trees which shield it from the north and west winds in the winter, and which, overshadowing the buildings, will make it pleasant in summer."

Most of the money collected by the bishop was required in payment for the lands and preemptions. How should he go on with so great a work without funds? "My dependence," he says, "is simply and solely on the promise and providence of Almighty God." The corner stone was laid in April, 1839, and the bishop named the institution Jubilee College. "That name of all others, suits my feelings and circumstances," he writes. "I wish to give thanks and rejoice

that after seven years passed in much trouble, pain, and moral servitude, God hath permitted me, for Jesus' sake, to return unto his gracious favor." So with great joy did the bishop blow the trumpet in Zion on that April day, while a multitude of the country people gathered around the foundation walls.

In his address at the laying of the corner stone the bishop emphasized the fact that, in accordance with the intention of the benefactors, the institution was to be primarily theological, a school of the prophets, where ministers of the Gospel should be trained, "which end, therefore, is never to be merged into any other." "All things being conducted according to the well known principles and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church * * * the design and will of the donors and founders of this institution will be answered and not otherwise."

The chapel was first erected, then the school room opening into it, and long afterwards the west wing with dormitories. At times the work was suspended for want of funds, but the bishop never lost hope or failed in faith. "Jehovah Jireh!" (The Lord will provide) was his motto, and often his prayer of faith was most impressively answered.

In the winter of '39 and '40, while work on the college was mostly suspended, he made a long journey in the South and secured substantial aid. He was cordially received nearly everywhere, especially in New Orleans, in Georgia and in the Carolinas. It is perhaps not known to many that in 1840 a few people in Charleston, S. C., contributed $10,000 to endow a professorship in Illinois. The bishop was also greatly encouraged and aided by further contributions from the East and from England, amounting to several thousand dollars. Some of these contributions were for his own and for his dear wife's use, and with these he made his Robinsnest more commodious and comfortable. The building of the college went on, and temporary houses for a store and shelter of students were erected. A frame structure of fourteen rooms, designed for a girls' school, was built, to which the bishop later removed his family and received a few young ladies. They did not recite with the young men of the college but were taught separately. While the bishop approved of "higher education" for women he would not consent to confer degrees upon them. His own granddaughter, who mastered all the studies of the college course, was never honored in that way.

In 1840 Mrs. Chase, in a letter to a friend in England, says: "It would do your heart good to look into Jubilee chapel; the pulpit, desks, and folding-doors of black walnut, the pews painted in imitation oak, everything plain but neat and in very good taste. The sound of the bell almost makes me weep." A visitor in November of 1840, as quoted by Bishop Chase in his "Reminiscences," says: "For the purpose designed I have never seen a spot combining so many advantages. In the first place, it is easily accessible by means of the Illinois and Mississippi rivers and Michigan canal. The prospect is remarkably beautiful and attractive. On the ground there is an abundance of clay for making brick, and wood to burn them. There are inexhaustible beds of bituminous coal. Only a half a mile

JUBILEE CHAPEL AND COLLEGE, FROM THE WEST.

distant, a quarry of freestone has recently been opened; nor must I forget to mention an abundance of pure water, two bold springs uniting their currents near by."

In those days when a fifteen mile drive to the postoffice in a farm wagon, fording streams on the way, was thought nothing of, Jubilee College might be said to be "easily accessible." Yet, even then, during the flood time of the Kickapoo, the bottom land was impassable except on horseback. The bishop once nearly lost his life in trying to reach his home after a visitation. As railroads became the common means of travel in the West, Jubilee was isolated, and its location was unfortunate for educational purposes. In "The Motto," June, 1851, the bishop gives an account of a flood almost surrounding the college, which carried away corn fields, fences, hay-stacks, and 30 or 40 acres of turnips. For several days the college was shut off from the world. Similar floods have since occured. There is no railroad station within six miles of Jubilee, nor is there prospect of any in the future.

Bishop Chase, even long past the age of sixty, was leading a very strenuous life. Too heavy to ride much on horseback, he was compelled to make long journeys over dangerous roads, by stage or in the old family coach. Several times he came near losing his life, suffering from exposure and accidents. Some one has declared that every bone in his body, except his head, had been broken; some of his ribs were broken several times. Along the rivers the way was somewhat easier by steamboat, yet speed was not always assured. Starting on Tuesday from St. Louis, by the steamboat America, the bishop arrived in Alton on Wednesday morning, twenty-two miles in eleven hours. Leaving the river at some point, he was taken with his luggage in a "dearborn" to Rushville. "But the roads, O the roads!" he writes. "For nearly a quarter of a mile the water had overflown the path about two feet, and this together with the deep mud below, rendered our progress almost impossible." On the Sunday following he consecrated the new church, confirmed two, baptzied five children, administered the communion to seven persons, and preached both morning and evening. "The night was spent in tossing to and fro, as usual after excessive fatigue." Going on to Sterling, he says the roads were exceedingly bad, "but the strength of our team and the blessing of God overcame all obstructions." The town consisted of about forty small houses. The bishop preached in the school house, "to get at which I had some difficulty, on account of the mud," and there was plenty of it on the floor inside. This was in March, 1837.

The bishop frequently accepted the courtesy of Methodist and Presbyterian brethren, holding services and preaching in their churches, always taking the prayer book and instructing the people in its use. In hotel offices, stores, and even in a blacksmith's shop the bishop preached and baptized. He notes the prevalence of speculation and worldliness, a tendency to intemperance, coarseness, and profanity everywhere, and is deeply concerned for the future of a country which is opening under so many evil influences. "Infidelity and sin stalk fearlessly abroad wherever I travel," he says. "Our whole country seems to be forgetting God. In all their ways they

acknowledge not God, nor think that he exists, much less that he will bring them to an awful account for abused favors. My heart seems to sink within me as I contemplate the down-hill course of my dear country."

The bishop was taken ill at Oquawka, where in March he had to sleep on the floor in a very poor cabin, "the best lodging these affectionate people could give me." He pushed on to Monmouth and held two services. After spending several hours "in pious conversation" with the neighbors who dropped in after evening service, the bishop retired to a cold room and soon was "in great agony." By the aid of two physicians he was relieved, and two days after, in an open wagon, continued his homeward way, with more than sixty miles before him. It both snowed and rained. Spoon river was a raging torrent. The horses and wagon were driven through; the bishop followed in a canoe, a log of black walnut with the bark on, hollowed out in the middle. The canoe sank almost to filling, as it was pushed out into the stream with the bulky bishop amidship. "Can you swim?" shouted the man in the stern. "Like a duck," was the reply; "all I fear is, if she turns over I cannot extricate myself from my squeezed position on the log." With grateful hearts they reached the shore and mounted the muddy bank. There they satisfied their thirst from the overflowing of the clean troughs, filled with the fast droppings of the delicious sugar water. They were sheltered in a cabin during a stormy night, and pushed on over rapid streams, overflowed prairies, and muddy sloughs, the snow "blowing horizontally." All this time the bishop was a sick man. The greatest exposure and peril, however, he encountered almost in sight of Robinsnest, when he came to the Kickapoo, which he was assured could not be crossed, either by swimming or by a canoe. "But I must see my family," he declared. "I must be ministered to or perish." His passage through a part of the flood by wagon, and then over the stringers of a skeleton bridge, is an exciting story. "Never had I more reason for the blessing of a clear head and a firm faith in God's supporting hand." Praising God he got safely over.

These are only illustrative incidents in his laborious life. Whatever he found to do, he did it with all his might, on the farm, in his visitations, soliciting for his colleges, directing laborers, writing letters and "Reminiscences." Nothing was too great to be attempted, nothing so small as to be lightly regarded. He gratefully accepts from a friend a package of rutabaga (turnip) seed, and by good attention to planting secured a large crop of "that excellent vegetable."

Bishop Chase had a vein of humor and of poetry in his soul. Some sheep which he bought with money paid to him by the stage company as damage for breaking his bones, he called his "ribs." He had scriptural names for his pastures, and the shepherd of his flocks carried the traditional crook. He called his family carriage "Noah's Ark." The names that he gave to places were striking and enduring. "Robinsnest" is certainly very pretty as well as humorous. His selection of sites for his homes and colleges showed a fine apprecia-

tion of the beauty of nature. He could scarcely foresee the coming of an age when steam should count for more than aesthetics, in education as well as commerce.

In 1843, on the death of Bishop Griswold, Bishop Chase, as senior in consecration, became the presiding bishop of the American church. During the term of his primacy, fifteen bishops were consecrated; among them our first missionary bishop to foreign lands. To Bishop Chase came also the sad duty of pronouncing sentence of suspension upon two of his brother bishops.

For some years the bishop held the lands of the College in his own name, not being willing to secure incorporation under the conditions that had been imposed upon other institutions, viz, that no creed of any denomination whatever should be inculcated, and that the charter might be repealed. For this reason he suffered undeserved reproach and opposition. In 1844 a friend in the legislature secured a charter, but the bishop refused to accept it, on the ground that it would be a betrayal of his trust. It was so exceedingly liberal, he said, that it took the college out of the Church and placed it in the world. At a later session (Jan. 22, 1847) a charter was obtained, in every way satisfactory. Under this charter the bishop should nominate trustees; there should be a theological department and a college proper, an academy for boys, and a seminary for girls; the bishop of the Episcopal Church in Illinois should be *ex-officio* President; the number of trustees from four to eight, all communicants of the Episcopal Church; the trustees to have power of veto of the President's nominations, subject to appeal to the Convention of the Diocese; a report to be made every three years to the Convention, of the affairs of the institution and "the mode in which benefactions have been used."

By the provision of the Charter the trustees were to be nominated by the bishop "in his last will and testament, or otherwise." This arrangement insured to him personal control and security from interference as long as he lived. In view of his experience in Ohio he should not be blamed for protecting himself and his family in every way consistent with his duty and his high office; and at the same time the arrangement was doubtless for the best interest of the institution. This is evident from the fact that after his death, without his influence and administration, the income and patronage of the college were greatly reduced.

The trustees constituting the corporation at the death of the bishop were: Ex-officio, the Bishop of Illinois (Bishop Whitehouse, who had been assistant bishop for about a year); The Rev, E. B. Kellogg, the Rev. C. Dresser, the Rev. Samuel Chase, D. D., the Rev. Philander Chase, Messrs. John Pennington, William Wilkinson, and H. S. Chase.

In 1843 Bishop Chase wrote to his granddaughter Laura: "I think the reputation of the college is increasing. We have a good mathematical teacher and also a teacher of languages, besides the Rev. S. Chase, who is over the school and regulates the whole, hearing all the upper classes. Mary has charge of the female department, being a small number taught and boarded in the cottage. The build-

of the west wing will go on as soon as the frost is out of the ground, which this year continues longer than was ever known before. The cold has killed more than one hundred of the college lambs."

The first formal "Commencement" was held on July 7th, 1847. Five students, "after a due course of study, by strict examination," were admitted to the bachelor's degree; a master's degree was also conferred. In the "Reminiscences" the occasion is thus described:

"Never was there a finer day, or more joyful occasion. Between seven and eight hundred persons assembled on the college hill, where so lately roamed the untutored native, and to which the wild deer, from habit, paid frequent visits, in great numbers. The college chapel was filled with devout worshippers, and when the divine services were over, all retired to the green arbor, two or three hundred yards off, under the deep shade of spreading trees looking down on the verdant lawns surrounding the chapel. Here the orations of the first class of students were delivered to a delighted and enlightened audience. Here the degrees were conferred, and here ascended the Christian prayer for a blessing from on high on the glorious work thus prosperously commenced. All expressed the highest gratification, and the day being far spent, and places of entertainment, for want of means, having been erected on the hill, all were invited to partake of a frugal repast, distributed at the expense of the college."

Most of the students boarded in the houses provided for the college, and some with families in the neighborhood. The charges for board and tuition, at first were $100; this was afterwards raised to $120, and finally to $200. Some of the students worked for their board. The instructors were capable, and the course of study for that day was sufficiently extended. French and German, as well as the classical languages, were included.

The by-laws enacted by Bishop Chase, and in force for some years after, would scarcely suit the college boy of our day, though some of them might be good for him. The cigarette smoker would find his occupation gone if he were not allowed to carry any matches in his pocket. Indeed, there could be no use of tobacco in any form at Jubilee.

No games of chance, no cards or dice were allowed. Every student had to keep a bucket of water in his room, for fire protection. No one could leave the farm without a permit. Morning prayer was 6:30, and the tardy student lost his breakfast. There were 28 rules published.

One of the instructors now living, Mr. Wm. Blenkiron, writes: "After 13 days of constant travel from New York City to Peoria, we walked from Peoria to Jubilee, February 14, 1852, (fifteen miles.) The ladies and the trunks were carried on the farm wagon. On the following day Dr. Chase took me to the bishop, and after a short interview Samuel was told to put this man to work. The Rev. Philander Chase (son of the bishop) had charge of the school room in the morning, and D. W. Dresser, a student, in the afternoon. There were about 50 pupils, from twelve to twenty years of age. All the

boys respected Dr. Samuel Chase. Our nearest village was Kickapoo, two and one-half miles, and with reasonable watchfulness we had little trouble with the boys."

One of the "old boys," the Rev. John Wilkinson, who is still serving in the ministry with unabated zeal and usefulness, contributes the following sketch of a Jubilee College Sunday in his day: "In the year 1845 the buildings of Jubilee College were new and substantial, though less picturesque than at this time. They were the pride of the inmates and the wonder of the country round about. The chapel, with cross, bell and organ, was the center of church life for the county, outside of Peoria, and the gathering on a Sunday morning was a scene not soon to be forgotten, one that could not be produced anywhere else.

"At the first or warning bell for service, the students retired to their rooms, the grammar school boys to their dormitories. Soon, wagons were rumbling up the hill, and unloading their groups of old and young in the outer driveway or on the campus. Meanwhile, the bishop and Mrs. Chase were driven to the door of Dr. Chase's study, the bishop to be vested and helped to his place in the pulpit where, propped up by cushions, he remained during the service, and then, still sitting, delivered his sermon. Soon after the bishop's arrival came the procession from the girls' school, conducted by the bishop's daughter (Mrs. Chamberlain, died, 1904), and took their places in their accustomed corner. The men and boys had fallen into line, and at the sound of the last bell (a signal for which was always given by the bishop when present) they entered from the school room which opened into the chapel by sliding doors. The seats in this study room were so constructed that the desks in front could be let down out of the way, giving somewhat the appearance of pews. When the sermon began, these desks were swung up again, forming a comfortable resting place for the head of many a sleepy eutychus, when the good bishop, like his predecessor at Troas, was long in preaching."

In the year 1845, Lord Bexley wrote to Bishop Chase that he could not believe that the bishop would ever be able to found another college, and so far toward the setting Sun. To this the bishop answers: "Another college is founded, and is now rearing its head on the prairies of our far West, whose walls we trust will prove salvation, and whose gates will speak praise to the Saviour of men. We have now in Jubilee College nearly fifty students, the most of whom are designated for the ministry. Our clergy are now rising of twenty. In the course of this summer and fall I hope to consecrate seven more churches to the glory of God."

Bishop Chase died in 1852, a few days after being thrown from his carriage, in his seventy-seventh year, the thirty-fourth of his episcopate. Jubilee College continued its good work until the Civil war, with fair success. Among its students were many from the South, and their withdrawal reduced the revenues even more than the numbers, for they were "good pay." The Principal, Dr. Samuel Chase, went into the army as Chaplain. After the war, for about ten years, Dr. Chase continued the school, but with small success. It was

finally closed, and though the trustees have made several efforts to revive it, nothing of importance has been accomplished. Even in its best days its revenues were inadequate. The only endowment was the South Carolina professorship. This was largely invested in mills which were burned (without insurance). Several thousand sheep were another investment which failed to be profitable when disease attacked them. The entire charges were $100 (later $120 to $200) a year, for board and tuition, and from many students nothing at all was received. No one was turned away for want of money. With the clearing and breaking of land, the fencing of farms, the construction of buildings, bridges, etc., and a small income from students, aided by uncertain contributions, no wonder that at the death of Bishop Chase the institution was heavily in debt to him. Before the final closing of the school the debt was considerably increased, and from time to time land was sold to meet obligations. About 500 acres remain at the present date. This land, (one-half of it brush pasture) with the old stone college building, comprising chapel, school room, and dormitories, constitutes the present college domain.

In its more than twenty years of successful activity in a time when Illinois most needed the uplifting influences of education and religion, Jubilee College was a power for good. Many of its students have been useful in church and State. Among them were Henry A. Neely, afterwards bishop of Maine: D. W. Dresser, afterwards president of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Springfield; T. N. Morrison, whose son is now bishop of Iowa; W. W. DeWolf, who entered the sacred ministry after serving successfully as lawyer and judge; John Wilkinson, Erastus DeWolf, March Chase, and other honored and useful clergymen are still living and in active work. The Rev. Dudley Chase, retired chaplain, U. S. N., is now living in Philadelphia. Mrs Chamberlain, the bishop's daughter, who had the care of the girls in "The cottage," lived for many years in Jubilee, on the old Robinsnest farm. Other members of the faculty, (assisted by the candidates as tutors) were the Rev. Samuel Chase, D. D., vice-president; the Rev. Israel Foote, D. D.; the Rev. A J. Warner, now living in Angelica, N. Y.; the Rev. Charles Dresser; Mr. William Blenkiron, now living in Pekin, Illinois; the Rev. T. N. Benedict, and the Rev. S. D. Pulford. Useful laymen, as well as clergymen, in almost every section of the country, during the last half century have caused the light of old Jubilee to shine before men. James Anderson, a gallant officer in the Mexican war, Col. D. C. Smith, of Normal; Judge Harvey B. Hurd, still living an honored citizen of Evanston; the late Henry H. Candee, of Cairo, one of the most active, helpful, and respected churchmen of Illinois; Dr. Thomas Dresser, a widely known and highly honored physician of Springfield.

The one to whom the bishop and the college owed most, for self sacrifice and faithful and helpful service, was his honored wife Sophia; the sharer of his anxieties, the trustee of his fianances, the guardian of his peace, the maker of his home; companion of his joy, she was also the comforter of his sorrow; unobtrusive in his presence, she met

every emergency in his absence with wisdom and firmness. Of her he writes to his granddaughter, Laura, to whose life of Bishop Chase we have referred:

"The whole college establishment would at this critical period go to ruin if she were to be absent from it this summer. Tothis necessity she submits with resignation becoming a saint. She looks up and says "It is thy will, O God." This calms the tempest in her faithful bosom and then all is serene. She is finishing the last garment to make me decent with the least expense, for the summer. Would that our churchmen could generally know what this dear mother in Israel has suffered and done to build up the Kingdom of God in the Wilderness. She stays at home and works for God. When money is sent her from those who hear of her devotedness in far countries, she applies it all to pay for the college goods in New York, and when bills accumulate against her husband at home she will not allow even the smallest sums to be deducted from them on account or any salary to be allowed her or husband. Such is the wife of Bishop Chase, and in contemplating her character who can be unmoved?"

"Aunt Lucia" (Mrs. Russell), the Bishop's niece, should not be forgotten in any retrospect of the college or consideration of the life of its founder. She came to him in her widowhood, soon after the death of his first wife, and was in his declining years a great comfort to him and his children and a blessing to his work. Mrs. Smith speaks of her as "the incarnation of loving kindness," and the bishop declared she was "one of the chief instruments in founding both Kenyon and Jubilee."

Of Dr. Samuel Chase, the vice president and active manager of the school from the beginning to the end, more than a passing mention by name should be given. He was a scholar and a gentleman, in the best sense of the word. He gave the school the best years of his life, with small remuneration, and the reward of final success was denied to him. After the bishop's death the whole burden fell upon his nephew, and at the same time most of the sources of revenue were closed. Samuel Chase bravely stood by the sinking ship, and struggled almost to his dying hour to save it.

Dr. Francis J. Hall, in his History of the Diocese of Chicago, gives the following description of Bishop Chase: "Bishop Chase is said to have been over six feet tall, and to have possessed a large and impressive figure. He is reported to have weighed fully three hun dred pounds in his later years. His countenance was pleasing and gracious, although marked with indications of an indomitable and commanding will. His strength of will was one of his most prominent traits, and was accompanied by other peculiarities characteristic of a rugged pioneer. Strong convictions, unqualified by any doubts as to the correctness of his position and judgment, induced a somewhat dogmatic and impulsive tone and temper. His energy was untiring, and his care for every portion of his field, however remote and sparsly settled, was unremitting. He was possessed of strong lungs, and his powerful voice added to the impressiveness of his

oratory. His piety was deep and genuine, and his motto, *Jehovah Jireh*, the Lord will provide, is well keown; * * * Bishop Chase was a man built on gigantic lines. To no other prelate has fallen the task of founding two Dioceses—now divided into five—and two Theological Seminaries. He had his faults, but he was a chosen vessél, and God has taken him to Himself. May perpetual light shine upon him."

The remains of the great prelate and his faithful lieutenant Samuel Chase lie in the old college cemetery on Jubilee Hill, where the ancient oaks that welcomed the Bishop with joy now seem to whisper peace.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

THE BLOOMINGTON CONVENTION OF 1856 AND THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN IT.

(By J. O. Cunningham.)

No meeting of the people of the State of Illinois was ever held which effected greater results to the State, the Nation and to those who participated in its deliberations, than did that which assembled at Major's Hall in the City of Bloomington, on the 29th day of May, 1856.

If any excuse is due for an attempt to introduce here matters which then partook of the severest partisanship of the day, it should be found in the fact that the partisanship and partisan contests of 1856 have long since passed into the history of the State and the Nation, and so, in a manner, have lost their offensive character. Especially is this true when we consider that of those who participated there and in the political campaign which it initiated, very few remain in life.

Topics relating to the institution of American Slavery had been but little discussed in most parts of the State of Illinois after being laid to rest in 1824, until the introduction, by Senator Douglas in 1854, of the bill for the organization of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. Up to that date no ballot had ever been cast in perhaps a majority of the counties of the State for the candidates of the "Liberty" or "Free Soil" party, and such as had been cast, not exceeding 6 per cent of the entire vote of the State, were in the northern counties; so that slavery agitation before the latter date, had prevailed only within a few of the counties.

The introduction and passage through Congress of that measure, which in fact changed a Congressional prohibition of slavery in the territories north of the parallel of 36 degrees and 30 minutes into a local option for such territory, had the effect, all over the north and especially within the State of Illinois, one of whose senators in the Congress stood as sponsor for the new plan of settling the slavery question, to arouse violent agitation.

Many of Senator Douglas' friends in Illinois, who had never been suspected of entertaining sentiments unfriendly to the holding of men in slavery, but who had always regarded the legislation of 1820 as a finality as to the question of slavery in the territory affected by its terms, were aroused to a fierce opposition, and were well backed and

encouraged in their opposition by the Whigs who were not committed to the support of slavery, as well as by the Free Soil element of the northern part of the State.

The segregation of these elements at the election in November, 1854, brought about by a common impulse rather than by the usual party organization, effected through State conventions, resulted, for the first time in the history of the State, in the choice of a General Assembly made up of elements adverse to the party of Senator Douglas, as well as of a majority of the representatives of the State in Congress, of like proclivities.

The legislature so chosen elected to the United States Senate to succeed James Shields, a political friend of Judge Douglas, Lyman Trumbull, an opponent, which was the first instance during the thirty-seven years of the history of Illinois, as a State, of an election to that high office of a candidate from a party or faction openly opposed to the then ruling party.

The few weeks which preceded this remarkable election witnessed an experience in the politics of Illinois entirely new to the State. The slavery question, as connected with the choice of officers of the State, became for the first time a topic of general discussion upon the stump and elsewhere.

Lyman Trumbull, John M. Palmer, John Wentworth, N. B. Judd, Burton C. Cook, Isaac N. Arnold, Gustavus Koerner and other of Senator Douglas' political friends, took issue with him upon the wisdom and policy of the Kansas-Nebraska legislation and at once broke with their party upon that issue; while Abraham Lincoln, O. H. Browning, Joseph Gillespie, Richard Yates, Leonard Swett, Jesse O. Norton, James C. Conkling, and many other old line Whigs who, by the death of their party, were a strong force without a party organization, joined them in their opposition to the policy of Senator Douglas. The discussion of that policy in connection with a pending election of members of Congress could lead nowhere else than to a general discussion of the slavery question, whether they wished it or not. This it did, necessarily and almost involuntarily. So, in the autumn of 1854, the politicians found themselves talking about slavery upon the stump.

Mr. Lincoln, of whom it may be said that until that year he had grown up in the shade of Judge Douglas' great reputation, it would seem now saw his opportunity and entered into the contest in advocacy of the election of candidates opposed to him. He spoke at Chicago, Peoria, Springfield, Urbana, and probably at other places.

The writer listened to the Urbana speech, delivered in the court house on Oct. 24, 1854, during court week, to an audience made up mostly of men who had never in their lives heard the rightfulness of slavery questioned in a public address. The caution and delicacy with which the slavery question was handled by the speaker caused no little surprise to one listener, whose political views had been shaped largely by listening, in another state, to Parker Pillsbury, Abbie Kelley, S. S. Foster and Joshua R. Giddings. Mr. Lincoln well knew his audience and the horror in which the epithet, "Abolitionist," was held by them, and so carefully avoided running afoul of that dilemna.

The policy of the admission of slavery into the territory north of the prohibited line, and not the moral wrong of slavery, was argued by him; meantime the fugitive slave law of 1850 was upheld.

As before said, in spite of the appeals of Douglas and the offensive use made by him of the favorite epithet, "Abolitionist," with the prefix of "black," added, his party lost in this preliminary contest. This much by way of explanation of the causes which led up to the convention which forms the subject of this paper.

Chief among the causes which contributed to the concentration of an unorganized anti-slavery sentiment in the State in favor of candidates opposed to the policy of Senator Douglas, was the press of the State. In Chicago every newspaper, both Whig and Democratic, made war upon the senator, and the Whig newspapers of the State, with few exceptions, joined in the opposition. It was this influence that kept the opposition alive and finally crystalized it in Illinois, into a definite, live, winning party. It was then known as the "Anti-Nebraska" press and party.

Upon the initiative suggestion of the Journal, published at Jacksonville, and edited by our venerable co-laborer, Paul Selby, seconded by twenty-four other newspapers of the State, a meeting of newspaper men having in view organization, was held at Decatur, Feb. 22, 1856. Twelve newspaper men answered the call and were organized under the leadership of Mr. Selby. Mr. Lincoln, naturally feeling an interest in the movement, and perhaps others, joined in the consultation. The result was a moderate declaration of principles held by the meeting upon the political topics uppermost in the public mind and the appointment of a provisional committee charged with the duty of calling a convention to meet at Bloomington on the 29th day of May, 1856; to fix the ratio of representation for the convention and to take such steps as may seem desirable to bring about a full representation from the whole State. This committee well performed its duty and published its call in apt time.

It will be seen that according to the code of political ethics understood to govern political movements, this convention lacked in that it was not legally called by a general committee representing a recognized, existing political party, for there was no Republican party in Illinois. It however held a higher claim to regularity, in that it did represent the people who opposed the further extension of African slavery, then an unorganized mass of independent Democrats, Whigs, and Liberty men, acting together and bound by a common sympathy.

Up to that date the term "Republican," as the name of a political party had been made use of in other states and in a few localities in this State, as a party designation; but with the use made of it by Senator Douglas in connection with the prefix "Black," and the hated epithet "Abolitionist," it carried with it much that was obnoxious to the people of a considerable part of the State. So the call for the convention made no use of this name, but on the contrary called for a "State Convention of the Anti-Nebraska Party of Illinois." At that time this name had a definite meaning and all understood that all shades of opposition to Senator Douglas new policy were intended and invited by the call.

Singularly enough, the names of the nominees of that convention for the office of Governor and for Lieutenant Governor were well settled and agreed upon and most enthusiastically announced by public opinion, as declared through friendly newspapers, before the date fixed for it to assemble. One voice went up in favor of Col. William H. Bissell, a veteran of the Mexican war, for Governor and for Francis A. Hoffman, a popular German citizen of Chicago, for Lieutenant Governor. So far as candidates for these offices were concerned, the convention had but to record and announce the verdict of its constituency.

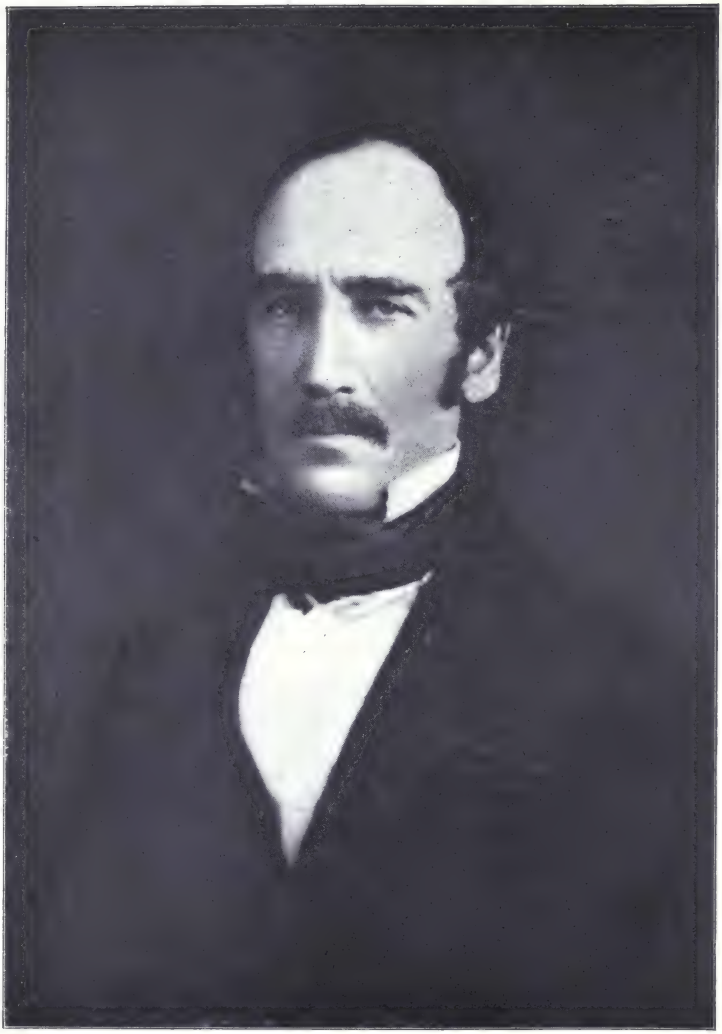
I now come to speak of my own personal observations in connection with the convention.

Mr. Lincoln, who according to all accounts, figured so largely, both in the calling and in the conducting of the meeting, the week before the date fixed, had been in attendance upon the Champaign county circuit court, and during convention week, was at the Vermilion court; at both places using his influence to bring together a good representation of the people in sympathy with its purposes. Citizens of both counties on the day before the convention, with Mr. Lincoln, came west to Decatur upon the same Wabash train, on their way to Bloomington. We arrived at Decatur about the middle of the afternoon, where, on account of there being no train for Bloomington that evening, all remained for the night. A considerable portion of the day remained before us and the company kept well together, strolling around the town, and finally, at the suggestion of Mr. Lincoln, all went to the then near-by Sangamon timber. Here, seated upon a fallen tree, Mr. Lincoln talked freely as he had during the afternoon, of his hopes and fears for the coming convention, and of his earnest wish that the Whig element of the southern counties might be well represented there. He was among political friends, there being several lawyers and editors who sympathized politically with him, and he did not attempt to conceal fears and misgivings entertained by him as to the outcome of the gathering. He was well assured that the radical element of the northern counties would be there in force, and feared the effect upon the conservative element of the central and southern parts of the State. It was for the latter he seemed most concerned.

Mr. Lincoln seemed much inclined to indulge in reminiscences of his coming to Decatur twenty-five years before, as an immigrant from Indiana with his father's family, in an ox wagon, and could point out the exact locality in front of the public square where he halted the team driven by him which brought the Lincoln family and its belongings.

Early the next morning all took the northbound train for Bloomington, Mr. Lincoln had hardly entered the train until he began a search for the Whig element bound for the convention from the south, and was much gratified in finding one, Jesse K. DuBois, from Lawrence county.

Arriving in Bloomington, we found the Pike House, the principal hotel of the city, at the corner of Center and North streets, now (Monroe) full to overflowing and the streets alive with partisans of the



WILLIAM H. BISSELL.

"Anti-Nebraska" type. Among them was the tall form of John Wentworth, earnestly engaging one after another in his attempts to make democrats, whigs and free-soilers forget old differences and join hands upon the uppermost issue, "Free Kansas." So too there was the athletic personality of Owen Lovejoy, making love to the abolition haters of the center and south. Archibald Williams and O. H Browning, those conservative towers of ancient Whiggery, were there and alike surprised to find how much they now loved those fierce Democrats, John M. Palmer, Burton C. Cook, Norman B. Judd and Gustavus Koerner.

Governor Reeder, who in the face of hostile Missourians had abdicated the governorship of Kansas, to which he had been appointed by President Pierce, and in disguise fled the territory, had arrived in Bloomington the evening before and had addressed the assembled delegates at an open air meeting, telling them in detail and in a plain manner of the outrages perpetrated by the Missouri invaders upon the free state men of Kansas and upon himself, making it evident that the federal officers were parties thereto. Other speeches were made from the veranda of the Pike House on the preceding evening, the whole burden of which was the unholy conspiracy to fix upon Kansas the burden of a slave code, whether the people were willing or unwilling. Kansas and its wrongs was upon every lip and the very air was charged with the idea of resistance to what seemed to be the policy of the national administration towards free territory.

Delegates came to Bloomington highly excited by the news of the day and its verification by eye-witnesses of high character who had witnessed the outrages and suffered the wrongs, wrought them to a high state of excitement. The morning of the 29th came and with it the Chicago dailies giving the particulars of the destruction of the Free State Hotel and the newspaper press of Lawrence. Isaac N. Arnold, from a perch upon the main stairway of the Pike House, read with almost tragic emphasis, accounts and dispatches from the seat of war to the crowds in and about the hotel. All these things combined to inflame the sentiment of listening delegates and others in attendance upon the convention to the highest degree, even the old Whigs, proverbially conservative and forbearing, were moved te demonstrations.

In this mood early in the day the crowds moved to Major's Hall, the place set apart for the convention. The hall, not a large one, was promptly filled with an eager crowd of men who had evidently been much moved by the speeches and intercourse of the miscellaneous gathering about the Pike House, which, up to that time, had been the storm center of the town. The convention was called to order and Archibald Williams, of Quincy, the conservative Whig, called temporarily to the chair, a precaution well taken at this juncture. H. S. Baker, of Alton, was made temporary secretary.

No sooner had this temporary organization been effected than Leander Munsell, a delegate from Edgar county, an old Whig and a former member of the General Assembly, got recognition from the chair and gave vent to pent up enthusiasm by nominating Colonel Bissell for Governor. The lapse from conventionalities was little

noticed, for the nomination met with a tornado of seconds from all parts of the hall. The convention, even in its unorganized condition, was ready for action upon the premature nomination and impatiently awaited the reading of a letter from the candidate addressed to George T. Brown, stating that the condition of his health was such as to preclude an active canvass by him, which letter had no other effect than to add to the desire for his nomination, which was then made by acclamation, amid a whirlwind of cheers and huzzas. This was followed as informally by a like nomination of Francis A. Hoffman, of Chicago, a German citizen of great popularity, for Lieutenant Governor. Both nominations were the spontaneous outgrowth of previous discussions among the newspapers and the people.

This part of the business settled in advance, the convention proceeded with its organization by the appointment of the usual committees, which in due time made their reports. The time elapsing between the appointment of the committees and the report of the committee on resolutions, beside the formal approval of reports and the permanent organization, was occupied in listening to speeches from the men of the convention. In the opinion of the writer no speeches ever delivered in the State had more attentive listeners.

The oratorical ball was fairly set in motion when John M. Palmer, upon his presentation by the committee on permanent organization was installed as president of the convention. A man of heroic figure, less than forty years of age, at the meridian of his physical strength, florid of complexion and with nervous energy enough to well equip a platoon of ordinary men, his presence and bearing were such as to inspire even a stranger with the conviction that the right man had been chosen to direct the forces of the convention. He had been a political and strong personal friend of Senator Douglas, who had freely criticised the late political departure of Illinois' favorite Senator, and all knew it. His address was brief, suited to the occasion, abounded in sharp thrusts for his late friend and the new theory of popular sovereignty, which was already bearing fruits in Kansas, yet statesmanlike. It directed the attention of the convention to the wrong perpetrated by the repeal of the Missouri compromise and to the remedy for the wrong in the hands of the voters of the land. The speaker was greeted with the most enthusiastic applause.

Palmer was followed by O. H. Browning, of Quincy, another conservative Whig, who sought by his speech to lay the ghost of Abolitionism which all feared. Mr. Browning's high character and his connection with the old Whig party made him a tower of strength with that element in the convention. His address was wise, deliberate and abounded in references to the utterances of Henry Clay, for whom he claimed a high position among the conservative opponents of the extension of slavery. He called upon his Whig friends to stand fast by the land-marks of their great leader, and evidently made a strong impression upon that element of the convention.

Then came Owen Lovejoy. Many had only known him by what his enemies had said of him, and only expected to see the veritable "Raw Head and Bloody-Bones" of the Abolition Ogre, who surely must be of kin to "Auld Clootie." Lovejoy well knew the light in

GEN. JOHN M. PALMER.

Picture taken in 1896.

which he was looked upon by many of his hearers, and also knew that this was his opportunity to make friends, and never put in a better day's work with this end in view. He had mingled with the crowd there assembled enough to know that the spirit which moved the men was opposition to the spread of slavery into the free territories; so to this principle as connected with the work of Douglas, he gave especial attention. The horrors of the Kansas condition, existing so near by, was painted in apt prose and poetry, as the work of the demon slavery; there by the invitation of Senator Douglas. His speech, as a piece of word painting of the subject in hand, with illustrations from actual life as at that moment transpiring in that unhappy territory, was vivid and moving to the greatest extent. Those who knew Lovejoy need not be told that his ability to move men by his oratory, has not been excelled in the case of any man of his century. When any topic connected with African slavery as it existed in this country prior to 1865, formed the theme of his discourse, he became the blazing meteor upon the platform. His eloquence in argument and denunciation scorched and burned to the quick. It need not be said that on that 29th day of May, 1856, he carried his miscellaneous audience with him. He did more. He broke down much of the unreasonable prejudice against himself and secured for himself a hearing before an audience in Illinois without danger of insult, a treatment he could not, before then, expect.

Among the crowd in the hall was one James S. Emory, a refugee with Governor Reeder from Kansas, whose printing press had a few days before been dumped into the Kansas river and his home broken up by invaders from Missouri. Emory was called to the stand for a speech. He was no tyro at delineation, and spoke with the vehemence of a man who had been cruelly robbed of his rights as an American citizen upon American soil. He spoke as an eye-witness and lacking nothing as a word painter, with language severe and almost intemperate in his appeals for armed interference in Kansas affairs, he awakened much sympathy with some, and alarm at the effect of his words with others.

During Emory's speech the committee on resolutions made its appearance which was a signal for the termination of his remarks. It will be seen by a glance at the resolutions reported that they present a single issue, that of slavery extension in the territories. No question as to the rightfulness of the institution of slavery as an abstract proposition is presented or was raised, and upon this single issue, under the name of the "Anti-Nebraska Party," did the men there assemble, go before the country and wage their war against Senator Douglas; for his personality became a part of the issue.

The political promotors of today, with half a century of added wisdom culled when politics had become a fine art, with the situation of 1856 in this State before them, will fail if they try to apply a criticism to it. The report as it came from the committee, wisely organized so as to include representations of every shade of opinions and with full knowledge of the difficult task before the convention—the welding into a working party of the heretofore diverse elements and opinions—showed their work well done. Looking at the report at this distance

and considering the conditions, it must always be conceded to have been wisely done. The resolutions were unanimously adopted without discussion.

This clear cut platform adopted, there was a wild yell for Lincoln, who had probably until then been with the committee on platform and had taken but little part in the prior proceedings, though he had listened to the speech of Emory, the most extreme of all in his denunciations of the administration at Washington. Mr. Lincoln appeared before the convention as the last speaker, was received with demonstration of applause and perhaps with expectations on the part of some that he would fan the flame of acrimony and discontent aroused by the remarks of some of the preceding speakers, but if any so supposed they were disappointed, for he did no such thing.

Seeming to know that there had been wild talk about people going to Kansas armed with Sharpe's rifles, with which to settle the contentions there in issue, he began most gently with a rebuke for such appeals to violence. In words he deprecated the use of force as a means of settling the issue, and concluded this part of his speech with these words as nearly as I remember them: "*No, my friends, I'll tell you what we will do, we will wait until November, and then we will shoot paper ballots at them*," referring, of course, to the coming presidential election and to the ballots to be then cast.

From this pleasant disposition of the war talk, he then turned his remarks to a logical discussion of the legislation set on foot by Judge Douglas and illustrated its unwisdom by citing the then condition of Kansas, as a necessary result of the competition, invited by the law between freedom and slavery. He insisted that the Free State people of Kansas were right in their attempts to exclude slavery from their territory, and earnestly appealed to his audience to support them by supporting the "Anti-Nebraska" ticket there nominated. By frequent citations from the speeches of Henry Clay, with his views of the rightfulness of exclusive legislation for slavery, he showed himself in line with the first Whig precedents and claimed the Whig vote of the State for the new party and its platform.

Mr. Lincoln devoted much of his discourse to the threats and insinuation of a dissolution of the Union of the States, made by southern men and published broadcast in the North. He argued and reasoned as if the South in person then stood before him and was listening to him, a form of speech which he adopted with great effect in the latter part of his first inaugural address from the capitol steps at Washington. To this supposititious audience he argued the unwisdom of disunion and the direful consequences to the country of an attempt of any party at dissolution. He assured his audience that northern men had no desire for a separation and would never consent to it. Warming up with his topic and still using the pronoun of the second person, he closed this part of his speech with these remarkable words: "WE WON'T GO OUT OF THE UNION, AND YOU SHA'NT!" This was said with great deliberation, when he had raised his figure to its greatest height, his eyes, usually so mild and playful, now flashing wild determination, and with vehement gestures with his head and arms. The effect upon his audience was shown by the

applause with which it was greeted, amid which the orator withdrew from the stand, and the work of the convention was over. There were then no Whigs, Democrats, nor Free-Soilers, but men of every shade had been fused into a conquering phalanx.

Until this convention Mr. Lincoln was little known in many parts of the State, as his law practice and political speeches had been confined to the central counties, mostly. He went away better known throughout the State and with a reputation as a public speaker never before enjoyed.

No stenographic report or otherwise was made of this speech or of any other delivered before the convention, so far as known, but the manner and matter of this speech were extravagantly praised by the daily press of the State. The fact of no report is to be regretted, as all who heard it and other speeches of the same man agree that it was among the greatest. It has since been called the "Lost Speech," but though lost to posterity, it was far from being lost upon his then hearers.

Other candidates for State officers were nominated upon the recommendation of a committee appointed to name suitable persons; and as is well known the ticket thus named, with the exception of the candidate for Lieutenant Governor who gave place to another, was elected at the November election, 1856, the first instance in the history of the State where candidates for State offices adverse to the party of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson were successful; while the electoral vote of the State was given to the Democratic nominee. Had the entire Whig element of the State stood by Lincoln's choice, as it did by Bissell, Buchanan would have lost the State.

The ultimate effect was to wholly change the political complexion of the State for the next half century, with the exception of one gubernatorial term. Another effect was to remove from a probably successful presidential candidacy, Judge Douglas, and to make Lincoln the man of destiny, for he retired from that convention the acknowledged leader of the new party in Illinois, and before two weeks came near being made the candidate of his party for Vice-President, in that campaign.

It was said at the beginning of this paper that no meeting of the people of the State of Illinois in state convention was ever held which effected greater results in the State and national history than did this convention. Half a century of history making proves this claim to be true.

Another assertion there made as to those named as participants in its deliberations and as to its effects upon them, is also true. Coming from the doors of Major's Hall at the close of that convention was Abraham Lincoln, a future President of the United States, the Emancipator of a race, whose memory the wide world reveres; there came also Richard Yates, the great War Governor of Illinois, who was eminent as a United States Senator; another Governor of Illinois, no less distinguished as a Senator and as a Major General in the War of the Rebellion, John M. Palmer, was of the number; there came a future Cabinet Minister and United States Senator,

Orville H. Browning; there were also William Pitt Kellogg, Burton C. Cook, Thomas J. Henderson, Abner C. Harding, John Wentworth, Thomas J. Turner, Owen Lovejoy, and perhaps others who served terms in Congress of various periods; there was also Norman B. Judd, who became a foreign minister; there were well known citizens who afterwards became members of the General Assembly, among whom may be named A. W. Mack, J. V. Eustace, Isaac C. Pugh, Dr. Robert Boal, Nathaniel Niles, Isaac L. Morrison, John H. Bryant, H. C. Johns, and Washington Bushnell who also filled the office of Attorney General of this State; there were those who before and after this date distinguished themselves as leaders of public opinion in the capacity of editors of newspapers, among whom may be named D. S. Parker, of Kankakee, Geo. T. Brown, of Alton, George Schneider, of Chicago, B. F. Shaw, of Dixon, W. H. Bailhache, of Springfield, C. H. Ray, Joseph Medill and J. L. Scripps, of Chicago. It is but just to say that Mr. Selby was prevented from being at the convention on account of having suffered from an assault made upon him by a ruffianly opponent.

Other distinguished citizens of great prominence before or since the convention were in attendance, among whom may and should be named, such men as Leonard Sweet, Jesse W. Fell and W. W. Orme, of Bloomington, D. L. Phillips, of Union county, G. D. A. Parks, of Joliet, Gen. James M. Ruggles, of Mason county, M. P Sweet, T. J. Prickett, A. C. Fuller, A. J. Joslyn, W. H. Herndon and William Vocke. Among those in attendance were those eminent historians, John Moses and John G. Nicolay. So this convention gave to many young men in attendance impulses which staid with them through life and gave them position and character.

So there were many who, with some of those named above, five years afterward, when the South undertook to test Lincoln's declaration to the effect that this nation could not exist half slave and half free, took their places in the ranks of the Nation's defenders, and either came home with their chaplets of victory, or gave up their lives to verify Lincoln's other declaration to the effect that the South should not go out of the Union.

While the convention was a notable one for the reasons given upon the preceding page, it was also notable on account of the absence of some. At many places in the State were individuals whose convictions were as strong as were those of Lincoln or of any other participator in the convention, as to the policy of prohibiting slavery in the territories, and who were unstinted in their opposition to the course of Senator Douglas, yet who, from a timid fear of being thought and called "Abolitionists," remained away from the convention, trained with the third party in the campaign of 1856, and left Mr. Lincoln and his friends to bear the burden of an active opposition to the policy of the national administration. These men, who shall be nameless here, were what are sometimes called moral cowards; but when the day of victory was seen to be sure for the new party, they took their places in the front ranks and have well maintained their claims to this day, the chief reapers in the harvest where others sowed the seed.

REMAINS OF OLD FORT CHARTRES.

ANCIENT FORT CHARTRES.

(By Homer Mead.)

The writer points out the importance, especially for the people of Illinois, of this historical monument, only a few miles from the village of Prairie du Rocher, with its associations which carry the visitor back to the days of the French and British dominion in the Illinois country The circumstances of its construction in 1718-1720, as a part of the great designs of Law and his Company of the West, are described, and there is a brief sketch of the subsequent history of the fort and the surrounding village down to the close of the French occupation in 1765. The attractiveness of the old French community life is emphasized.

The conditions under the old English régime are then described and the period is characterized as one of neglect and decadence. The writer then summarizes various contemporary notices of the fort, including those of Gage in 1765, and those of Brackenridge, Beck, and Reynolds. The fort was abandoned after the flood of 1772, but the damage done by the rain has been greatly exaggerated. The writer regards the wholesale demolition of the walls as the work of persons in search of building material. He thinks however, "that the wholesale, unrestrained grab after the useful material of the fort did not begin until 1840, when people should have known better."

"Up to July, 1902, Red Bud, twenty miles away, was the nearest railroad station to this locality; but the Illinois division of the Iron Mountain railroad now has a station at Prairie du Rocher" which makes a visit to the fort comparatively easy. Prairie du Rocher itself still presents a distinctly French aspect, though the coming of the railroad is gradually changing the unique character of the place.

"In early days all roads led to Fort Chartres" and highways leading to it were prominent features of early maps but "now, not even a cow-path leads to it." The fort area is reached by crossing a "beautiful level field" and entered through "a rude farm gate." "Cellar walls are in many places intact and nearly filled with debris. The angle of the main wall remains and is used as a stable. Two rude houses occupied by a farmer's tenants, are within the enclosure, which has been cleared of trees, except a few tall ones near the magazine." The magazine, itself is surprisingly well preserved.

[It is to be hoped that this paper may help to stimulate public opinion and lead to some tangible action by the State for the preservation of what still remains of the old fort. Even in its ruins, Fort Chartres is undoubtedly the most important monument of the French dominion in Illinois. For further information regarding Fort Chartres, see E. G. Mason, *Illinois in the Eighteenth Centuary* (*Fergus Historical Series*; also, Fort de Chartres, by Jos. Wallace, in Pub. No. 8 of Ill. State Hist. Lib.)—ED.]

DR. GEORGE CADWELL.

(By R. W. Mills.)

Dr. George Cadwell was born Feb. 21, 1773, at Wethersfield, Conn., where he spent his early youth. He acquired a literary education at Hartford, but his medical education was obtained in Rutland, Vt. While engaged in the study of medicine he became acquainted with Pamelia Lyon, of Fair Haven, Vt., with whom he was married on Feb. 19, 1797, at Vergennes. The mother of Miss Lyons, was, before her marriage, a Miss Hosford, and was a niece of the Revolutionary patriot, Ethan Allen, of Ticonderoga fame. Her father was the celebrated Matthew Lyon, then a member of Congress from the state of Vermont and afterwares four times elected to Congress from the state of Kentucky and once elected a delegate to Congress from the territory of Arkansas.

For a time after his marriage Dr. Cadwell remained at Fair Haven practicing his profession and assisting in the management of the extensive business of his father-in-law. Among the other things in which Colonel Lyon was engaged and in which Dr. Cadwell assisted him was the publication at Fair Haven of a newspaper called "The Scourge of Aristocracy." Colonel Lyon was an ardent Republican, and oppossed to the Federalist principles of Adams and Hamilton. He published in his paper many articles denouncing the Adams administration and thus became entangled in the meshes of the law. The Alien and sedition laws passed about that time provided severe penalties for speaking evil of the rulers; and on account of a letter reflecting on the administration of the elder Adams, written by Lyon while in Congress at Philadelphia and published in his newspaper at Fair Haven, which would be considered very mild in these stirring political times (extracts from which may be found in Wharton's State Trials," page 333), Lyon was indicted and convicted under the Sedition act and sentenced to pay a fine of one thousand dollars and to be imprisoned in the jail at Vergennes for a period of four months. To pay this, at that time, enormous sum in gold, brought Lyon to the verge of financial ruin, and in consequence thereof he resolved to remove to Kentucky. He selected a location on the Cumberland river at the point in Lyon county, Kentucky, where Eddyville now stands and thither he sent his family in the spring of 1799, in company with his two sons-in-law, Dr. Cadwell and John Messenger, the later subsequently becoming a prominent citizen of St. Clair county.

DR. GEORGE CADWELL.

In making this journey it is known that the party constructed flat boats at Pittsburg and descended the Ohio river to the mouth of the Cumberland, and from thence ascended the Cumberland to the point of Lyon's location. Very little, however, is known of the first part of the journey; but it would seem that the party traversed the entire state of New York and through Pennsylvania to Pittsburg in wagons, as indicated by the following extract taken from McLaughlin's life of Matthew Lyon, page 407: "The John Adams or Chipman party had subjected Colonel Lyon to such persecution during the Alien and Sedition reign of terror, and were still besetting his path with so many petty annoyances, that he determined to leave the beloved state to which he had given the best years of his life. His departure was a notable event in the history of Fair Haven. The people gathered in sorrow to say farewell to the founder and father of the town. Among them was a youth who was so deeply impressed with the scene that he was able seventy years afterwards to recall, in a letter to the author of the History of Fair Haven, the *white canvassed caravan* of Matthew Lyon as it wound its way along the Poultney river on the long journey to the more primitive settlement in the forests of Kentucky."

In the spring of 1800 Colonel Lyon returned to Kentucky from the session of Congress, to which he had been re-elected while in the Vergennes jail, and engaged in the slave trade. The institution of slavery and the business of dealing in slaves were so distasteful to Dr. Cadwell and John Messenger that in 1802 they both removed with their families to St. Clair county, in Illinois Territory.

In his Pioneer History of Illinois, ex-Governor Reynolds says: "Messenger and Cadwell left Eddyville in 1802 and landed from a boat in Morgan bottom not far from old Fort Chartres". This statement was incorporated in an article from the pen of the late Judge Thomas, published by the Jacksonville Journal in May, 1874. Its accuracy was at the time questioned by two daughters of Dr. Cadwell then living in Morgan county, one of whom informed the writer that the journey was made in wagons across the territory of Illinois from some point on the Ohio river and gave him an account of the trip obtained from her mother, in which she stated that when the journey was begun in February, 1802, the weather was warm and pleasant, but during the trip they encountered a furious snow storm and bitter cold weather; that owing to the entire absence of anything like roads the wagon in which Mrs. Cadwell was riding with her two infant children was completely overturned and the occupants were only saved from death or serious injury by the fact that the wagon box was of the crescent shape peculiar to that period, and in falling rested on its long projecting ends. At that time there were but two trails across Illinois territory used by emigrants from Kentucky, one from Shawneetown and the other from Fort Massac, and it is highly probable that Dr. Cadwell and Messenger floated down the Cumberland and Ohio rivers in flat boats to the latter point and went across to the Mississippi overland. If Fort Massac were substituted in the account of Cadwell and Messenger given by Governor Reynolds, it would

probably be nearer in accordance with the facts, as a portion of the bottom near Fort Massac was called Morgan bottom, but no such place was known near Fort Chartres.

If Dr. Cadwell made a settlement in the neighborhood of Fort Chartres, it must have been of a temporary character, as a careful examination of the records of Randolph and St. Clair counties fails to disclose any conveyances to or from Dr. Cadwell in Randolph or in St. Clair county south of its present northern boundary. It is, therefore, believed that his first permanent settlement was made on the bank of the Mississippi river, opposite Gaboret island, where he purchased 2 00 acres off of the south end of the Nicholas Jarrott survey, described in the deed of conveyance as "being in St. Clair county, Illinois Territory, between nine and ten miles north of Cahokia, on the bank of the Mississippi river, beginning at the southwest corner of the Nicholas Jarrott survey at a point on the bank of the Mississippi river, from which a black walnut 15 inches in diameter bears south 75 degrees east 170 links, and running thence north 15 degrees east 170 poles; thence south 75 degrees east 188.2 poles; thence with the boundary of the Nicholas Jarrott tract to the place of beginning." This land is located a short distance north of the Merchant's bridge and immediately west of Granite City, Ill.

Here Dr. Cadwell built a cabin and engaged in farming and in the practice of his profession. This cabin was subsequently utterly demolished by a tornado. In an account of this storm given to the late Rev. William Rutledge by Mrs. Cadwell she said she saw approaching from the west side of the river a funnel shaped cloud but as she had never heard of a land storm having that appearance she suspected it was in the nature of a water spout, and fearing the destruction of her cabin by the fierce wind that preceded it she fled to a plum thicket near by, threw herself flat on her face and holding a child under each arm and grasping a plum bush with each hand she remained until the fury of the storm abated.

St. Louis at that time was a thriving village of 1,200 inhabitants, most of whom were of French extraction. Captain James Piggott owned the ferry across the Mississippi and his boats were propelled with oars. Cahokia, seven miles below on the east bank of the Mississippi, was the county seat of St. Clair county, the only town within its limits, and was still an active rival of St. Louis. On Cahokia Creek just east of Dr. Cadwell's land, Nicholas Jarrott, the wealthiest and most prominent citizen of Cahokia, had constructed a water mill which, owing to its insecure alluvial foundation, proved an unprofitable investment and ultimately seriously depressed him financially. There were no Indians then in that part of Illinois Territory but until 1808 visits were occasionally made by roving bands of Kickapoos and Pottawatamies. The small remnant of the once powerful Illinois confederacy, reduced to less than 150 Kaskaskia and Peoria warriors, had departed for the far southwest the year before Dr. Cadwell's arrival.

The first record we have of the public life and services of Dr. Cadwell is that of his appointment as a Justice of the Peace of St. Clair county, on July 9, 1809, "to continue during the pleasure of the

Governor for the time being." On September 14, 1812, Ninian Edwards, Governor of Illinois Territory, by proclamation established the county of Madison with the following boundaries: "beginning on the Mississippi, to run with the second township above Cahokia east until it strikes the dividing line between the Illinois and Indiana Territories, thence with said dividing line to the line of Upper Canada, thence with said line to the Mississippi, thence down the Mississippi to the beginning." This included the home of Dr. Cadwell, and on the 27th day of the same month he was appointed a Justice of the Peace for this newly established county which embraced all of Illinois north of East St. Louis, all of Wisconsin and that part of Minnesota lying east of the Mississippi.

At the August Term, 1813, of the Court of Common Pleas for Madison county, Dr. Cadwell was appointed commissioner to list the property in the county for taxation and it was ordered by the court that the following species of property be subject to taxation at the following rates: Each able-bodied single man, $1.00; each negro slave, $1.00; each horse, mule or ass, fifty cents; Baker's ferry on the Mississippi, $1.00; Gilliam's Ferry, $1.00; William Whiteside's ferry, $1.00; Walker's ferry, $1.00; houses, lands and water mills ordered to be appraised. The lists were made by Dr. Cadwell as ordered and the tax so extended amounted to $426.84. There were found in this immense county only 161 men who were subject to road labor.

On December 11, 1813, Dr. Cadwell was appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Madison county, a court having a limited common law jurisdiction, and on December 24, 1814, he received a Christmas gift from the Governor of the territory in the shape of an appointment to the position of the Judge of the County Court of Madison county.

Shortly after this appointment Dr. Cadwell removed to Edwardsville, purchasing from Thomas Kirkpatrick on July 1, 1815, two lots containing the dwelling, which was by the proclamation of Governor Edwards above referred to, made the seat of justice of Madison county. This property is described as "lots 27 and 28 in the town of Edwardsville, lying on the west side of Main street and on the north side of Cross street No. 5, containing one-quarter acre each." The original deed from Thomas Kirkpatrick is now in the writer's possession. At this time Edwardsville was a very important village, it being the home of Governor Edwards, of United States Senator Jesse B. Thomas, Emanuel West, Judge Theophilus W. Smith, Rev. Thomas Lippincott, father of General Charles E. Lippincott; Joseph Conway, Governor Edward Coles, and other distinguished men. A United States land office was at that time located here, as was a branch of the State Bank of Illinois.

On January 11, 1816, Dr. Cadwell was re-appointed County Judge for Madison county "during good behavior for three years," and on February 28, 1818, he was appointed one of the Justices of the Peace for Madison county.

On August 26, 1818, the constitutional convention at Kaskaskia adopted a constitution for the State under the provisions of the Act of Congress of April 18, 1818. Section 2, Article 2, provided that

the first election for senators and representatives should be held on the third Thursday of September, 1818, and continue three days. At this election Dr. Cadwell was chosen senator from the county of Madison. Section 4, Article 2 of the Constitution provided, that, at the first session of the General Assembly, the senators should be divided by lot into two classes, the seats of the first class to be vacated at the expiration of the second year and those of the second class at the end of the fourth year. In the casting of lots Dr. Cadwell drew the short straw and fell into the first class, making his term of office only two years. A copy of the Journal of the Constitutional Convention of 1818 was in 1905 presented to the State of Illinois by Mr. J. W. Kitchell of Pana. On account of the loss of the Senate Journal of the first session but little is known of his carreer in that important session which prepared a general revision of the laws of the State; but, as he was re-elected to the Senate from Madison county for the full term of four years on the first Monday of August, 1820, it is fair to assume that his official acts were satisfactory to his constituents.

During his second term he occupied a very prominent place in the Senate. An examination of the Journal shows that there were very few, if any, standing committees; but whenever a resolution, petition or measure was referred to a committee it was usually to a special one appointed for the purpose; and it appears that Dr. Cadwell was appointed upon almost all of the important committees, and was chairman of many of them.

On December 16, 1820, the Lieutenant Governor, Col. Pierre Menard, asked and obtained leave of absence until the first week in January. On motion of Mr. Jamison, Dr. Cadwell was appointed Speaker *pro tempore*. On December 18, on motion of Dr. Cadwell, Mr. Thompson took the chair as Speaker *pro tem* and the Senate proceeded to elect a Speaker *viva voce* and Dr. Cadwell receiving nine votes was declared elected Speaker; but in January he resigned the position in order to take the floor against the pending measure for the establishment of a State Bank.

That he was an active member is clearly shown by the Senate Journal. Among the measures of public importance which he was instrumental in having passed were the act of January 20, 1821, creating the county of Greene with attached territory extending north to the Sangamon River, the subsequent act of January 21, 1823, creating the county of Morgan out of the attached territory and the act of January 31, 1821, creating the County of Pike.

He also secured the passage of an act for the establishment of medical societies which provided for the division of the State into four medical districts, making the physicians in each district a body corporate, and making it their duty to meet at stated intervals to examine students and grant diplomas to such as were qualified to practice medicine. The act also provided that no one could practice medicine except those possessed of a diploma from one of these societies, or from some respectable university of the United States. This act also required physicians to keep a record of all births and deaths. Section 11 provided that the board might examine all phys-

ician's bills which any patient considered exorbitant and make such deductions as to the board seemed reasonable; that the physician could not collect the excess and he was required to refund it if it had been paid. But his activity was not wholly confined to the introduction and passage of laws. On the contrary he appears more prominently and to better advantage, if possible, in the opposition of measures which he did not approve.

One of the acts of the Legislature was the passage of an act establishing a State Bank of Illinois at Kaskaskia with a capital stock of two million dollars to be subscribed by the State; but, as the stock was not subscribed by the Legislature, nothing came of it. In his message to the Legislature, which convened in October, 1820, the Governor made some recommendations concerning the State Bank which were on December 7, 1820, referred to a special committee of which Dr. Cadwell was a member. In 1821 the first act was repealed and another one passed establishing a State Bank at Vandalia with branches at Edwardsville, Brownsville, Shawneetown and Albion, the county seat of Edwards county. This bill having passed the Senate was amended in the House and presented to the Senate for concurrence in the amendment. It was referred to a committee of seven of which Dr. Cadwell was the chairman. This bill had been opposed by the Council of Revision—consisting of the Governor, Shadrach Bond, and the four Justices of the Supreme Court, Joseph Phillips, Thomas C. Brown, John Reynolds, and William Wilson—on the ground that it provided for the issue of bills of credit which was contrary to the Federal Constitution. Dr. Cadwell voted to sustain the Council and against the measure, but the bill became a law in spite of his opposition.

In 1820 he voted with the majority in rejecting the recommendation of a special committee that the territorial laws, except such as had been repealed or were inconsistent with the constitution, be continued in force. In October, 1820, the lessees of the Ohio and Wabash Salt Works proposed to pay the State $8,000 per annum rent if allowed to sell salt at $1.25 a bushel, but would pay $10,000 per annum if allowed to sell it at $1.50. Dr. Cadwell voted against the motion to take the larger rental and allow it to be sold at the greater price.

That he was in favor of observing the spirit rather than the strict letter of the law; that he believed a majority should rule and that no one should be disfranchised by a technicality, is abundantly shown by his attitude in the contested election between Willis Hargrave and Leonard White. In the schedule attached to the Constitution of 1818 it was provided that White county should be entitled to one Senator and three Representatives. After the adoption of the Constitution a portion of the county of Jefferson was detached and added to the county of White. In the election of 1820 the sitting member, White, had a majority of the votes in the whole county as then constituted. His seat was contested by Willis Hargrave, who was a candidate at the same election, on the ground that he received a majority of the votes in the territory comprising the county of White as it was constituted at the date of the adoption of the Constitution, contending that the inhabitants of the portion of Jefferson added to White had

no voice in the election and claiming that he received a majority of the votes in the whole county as then constituted. The committee to which the contest was referred reported in favor of Hargrave but the report was not adopted by the Senate. Dr. Cadwell voted against it and on his motion Leonard White was declared entitled to the seat.

In the memorable contest in 1823-24, between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery elements in the Legislature, the story of which has already been told before this society and need not be repeated, Dr. Cadwell took a prominent part in opposition to the convention. A large majority of the Senate were pro-slavery and in favor of submitting the question of a convention to the people but in the House it was expected the vote would be very close with the chances against there being a two-thirds vote in favor of the convention. Fearing defeat in the House an effort was made by the pro-slavery members of both houses to secure a joint session which would have enabled them to secure a vote in favor of the convention on a joint ballot. In furtherance of this revolutionary purpose a resolution was adopted by the Senate on February 1, 1824, declaring that "if two-thirds of all the members elected to the General Assembly shall vote in favor of recommending to the people to vote for or against a convention it shall be sufficient to effect that measure."

Dr. Cadwell opposed the resolution but when defeated was not content to allow it to rest there. He, together with William Kinkade, Daniel Parker and Stephen Stillman, caused to be entered upon the Journal of the Senate a written protest against its validity. In this protest they state that although the resolution is ambiguous, yet according to the way it is interpreted by the advocates of the measure it is plain that the design of it is to compel both branches of the Legislature to give a joint vote on the question of recommending the people to vote for or against the convention. They take the ground that the Constitution designed the two branches of the Legislature should be mutual checks upon each other and that the resolution destroys this salutary purpose by blending them together in one of their most important legislative acts. They point out that in this resolution the question of the convention may be submitted though a majority of the Senate be opposed to it. They say it was evidently the purpose of the Constitution to require more members to recommend a vote for the convention than is required to pass a law, yet ten members of the Senate (the whole number being eighteen) can prevent the passage of the law although the other forty-four members of the Legislature should favor it, but according to this resolution eighteen members of the Senate might not be able to prevent the submission of the question of a convention as the thirty-six members of the House constitute two-thirds of all members elected to the General Assembly. The protest concluded with the following ringing sentences: "For the correctness of our sentiments we appeal not only to our constituents but also to the people of the whole State. As men sworn to observe the Constitution, as representatives appointed to defend the rights of the people, we solemnly enter our protest against this resolution as being, in our opinion, subversive of the one and wholly injurious to the other."

The Governor at the time, Edward Coles, took strong ground against the convention and thereby incurred the displeasure of the pro-slavery party in the Legislature. The Senate especially did everything to make itself obnoxious to the Governor. Senators held up his appointments and sought every occasion to annoy him.

Dr. Cadwell had recommended the appointment of Dennis Rockwell to be Recorder of Morgan county, and John G. Lofton to be Recorder of Fulton county, and their several appointments were sent to the Senate for confirmation. Dr. Cadwell moved that the Senate advise and consent to the appointments but on motion of Jones of Gallatin the nominations were laid on the table; the vote on the proposition being a tie, the Speaker decided it in the affirmative. At the same time the Senate passed a resolution which in terms demanded that the Governor lay before the Senate all recommendations of candidates for the office of Recorder in Fulton and Morgan counties. Against this resolution Dr. Cadwell, William Kinkade, and Stephen Stillman entered a protest. Evidently the protest contained some very offensive language as the Senate refused to receive it, but was afterwards modified so as to entitle it to be spread upon the Journal. In this paper these three gentlemen solemnly protested against the proceeding of the Senate of February 14, in the passage of the resolution offered by the Senator from Monroe requiring the Governor to lay before the Senate all recommendations of candidates for the office of Recorder in Morgan and Fulton counties; among other reasons, "because the executive is a co-ordinate branch of the government and it is wholly improper, indecorous and unreasonable for either branch of the General Assembly to make such an impertinent requisition on the Governor." And in conclusion they say "That it is the province of the Governor to nominate and for the Senate to confirm or repudiate as they think proper but his reasons for nominating any individual is his business and not ours."

All are familiar with the history of this struggle and know that the requisite two-thirds majority of the lower house was obtained by the shameless robbery of the seat of Representative Hanson from Pike and the passage of the resolution was thus secured submitting to the people the question of calling a convention to frame a new constitution at a general election to be held on the first Monday of August, 1824. Between the time of the passage of this resolution and the date of the election the pro-slavery and anti-slavery parties of Illinois were engaged in a struggle for supremacy that has probably never since been equalled for bitterness and acrimony. Fifteen of the members of the Legislature, including Dr. Cadwell, joined in an appeal to the people to rise in their might and save the state from the greatest shame and disaster that could ever be visited on any people. They urged the people of the state "In the name of unborn millions who will rise up after us and call us blessed, or accursed, according to our deeds—in the name of the injured sons of Africa, whose claim to equal rights with their fellow men will plead their own cause against their usurpers before the tribunal of eternal justice, we conjure you, fellow citizens, to ponder upon these things!"

Of these men Mr. E. B. Washburne in his sketch of Governor Coles says: "There were fifteen members of the Legislature, brave, conscientious and God-fearing men, who signed this noble and timely appeal to the people of Illinois. I give all their names for they deserve to be written in letters of gold on the tablets of the state's history. Risdon Moore, William Kinkade, George Cadwell, Andrew Bankson, Jacob Ogle, Curtis Blakeman, Abraham Cairnes, William Lowery, James Sims, Daniel Parker, George Churchill, Gilbert T. Pell, David McGahey, Stephen Stillman, and Thomas Mather."

Dr. Cadwell was actively engaged in that campaign but was not a candidate for re-election and the proposition to call a convention was defeated by a majority of 1668 in a total vote in the state of 11,612. Dr. Cadwell's county giving 42 votes for the convention and 452 against it. His retirement from public life at this time was evidently voluntary as his district was in sympathy with him and voted more than five to one against the proposition to hold a convention.

After his second election to the Senate, probably late in 1820 or early in 1821, Dr. Cadwell removed to a location near where Lynnville, in Morgan county, now stands, but then within the bounds of the county of Madison. The next session of the Legislature (1820-21) created the counties of Sangamon and Greene comprising all the territory north of the present boundary of Madison county, with attached territory, which extended as far north as the northern boundary of the state, including the new home of Dr. Cadwell, thus making him a non-resident of the county from which he was elected, and leaving Madison county without representation in the Senate. Eleven days later. January 31, 1821, an act was passed creating the county of Pike out of all the territory in the State north of the then northern boundary of Greene and Sangamon counties. At the same session an act was passed providing for the election of a Senator for Madison county at the biennial election of 1822, leaving Dr. Cadwell the Senator of the new counties carved out of Madison county. And the 3rd General Assembly, January 31, 1823, created the county of Morgan from part of Sangamon. Thus was Dr. Cadwell removed from St. Clair to Madison county by the proclamation of a territorial governor; and he was also, by legislative enactment, made successively an inhabitant of the counties of Greene, Sangamon, and Morgan, without changing his residence.

The journey to Morgan county was made in flat boats propelled by poles and by pulling the overhanging boughs of the trees near the shores, up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Illinois, and thence up the Illinois to Naples, and the remaining distance of twenty miles was made in wagons. He made a claim to 240 acres of land, being the east half of the southeast quarter of section 29, the east half of the northeast quarter of section 32, and the east half of the southeast quarter of section 32, all in township 15 north, range 11 west of the 3d principal meridian; and afterwards entered the same at the land office in Vandalia. Nearly three-fourths of this entry was heavily timbered, and it contained more than twenty acres of hard maple trees, from which sugar and syrup were annually made until sometime in the fifties.

Here he laid off a town to which he gave the name of Quincy, expecting to secure the location of the county seat upon it. The temporary seat of justice of Morgan county was by the act creating it fixed on Olmstead's mound, which adjoined his land, and the first term of the Circuit Court was held in one of his cabins, but the Commissioners appointed to locate the permanent seat of justice placed it at Jacksonville. There is a tradition in the family to the effect that his opposition to the constitutional convention lost him the county seat, but the facts upon which it is said to be based are not sufficiently authenticated to put down as history.

The remainder of his life was spent in the practice of his profession. He was the first physician in Morgan county and his field was so vast and his practice so extensive that he was frequently absent for several days at a time, sometimes visiting patients forty miles away. He built a frame house, the first in Morgan county, with a shingle roof and walnut weatherboards, the roof of which was taken off by a wind storm in April, 1823.

In 1823 Dr. Cadwell was instrumental in organizing the "Morganian Society," the purpose of which was to "promote the public good by using all honorable means to prevent the introduction of slavery into this State, by maintaining the purity of elections, by cherishing political harmony and restraining vice and immorality," the constitution being signed by Dr. Cadwell and 139 others. He was the first postmaster in Morgan county and people came many miles to receive their letters on which the postage was twenty-five cents each. The desk used for keeping the mails was brought from France and is now in the possession of Miss May Graves, of Jacksonville, Ill.

He was a man of medium height and of rather slender build. His family consisted of two sons, both of whom died before attaining their majority, and eight daughters, all of whom are now dead. The last survivor of them, Mrs. Harriet L. Rudisill, died at Jacksonville, Nov. 9, 1893.

Little is known as to his politics except that he was on principle opposed to human slavery and that he was a fearless advocate of the right as he saw it. In those days men and measures and principles stood for more than party; a public office was considered a public trust and not a private "snap," a condition which unfortunately for the welfare of the State does not exist today.

He was not a religious man nor a member of any church organization, but held liberal views of matters of theology and was probably like Franklin, Jefferson and many other prominent men of his time, who to escape the rigorous and ascetic views held by the Puritans, and the licentiousness and arrogance of the Roman church, became followers of Voltaire, who was really not so heterodox as one is led to suppose from many things written against him, for his last words were: "I die worshipping God, loving my friends and not hating my enemies but detesting superstition."

He died Aug. 1, 1826, not an old man as stated by Governor Reynolds and others, but at the age of 52, in the prime and vigor of manhood, and was buried on the farm which he entered.

PALESTINE, ITS EARLY HISTORY.

(By J. C. Allen.)

From a point opposite the city of Vincennes, Ind., north, on the west side of the Wabash river, to a point opposite the city of Terre Haute, Ind., lies a section of our State unsurpassed in beauty and fertility: Four prairies, Allison, Lamott, Union and Walnut; Allison in Lawrence county, Lamott in Crawford county, and Union and Walnut in Clark county; each covering an area of from three to four miles in width and eight to ten miles in length; each surrounded by belts of heavy timber; each possessing a soil of sandy loam, easily cultivated and wonderfully productive. Each of these prairies had been favorite resorts of Indians, judging from the number of mounds burying places) surrounding their borders; and were evidently favorite hunting grounds before the advent of civilization.

But it is to Lamott prairie and the old village of Palestine that I desire to confine myself in this paper; and as I dwelt among its people for nearly thirty years, I am somewhat familiar with its early history, as I gathered it from the children and grand-children of its early pioneer settlers.

The village of Palestine is situated north of the city of Vincennes, Indiana, a distance of twenty-five miles by land and perhaps forty-five miles by the Wabash river. A short distance south of the village was a creek, called Lamott creek. It derives its name from a Frenchman by that name, who had a trading post at a point where the creek intersects the river about two miles southeast from where the village is located. The prairie also took its name from this same trader. At this point Lamott carried on his trade in pelts and furs with the Indians until the breaking out of the war of 1812 between this country and Great Britain, when the Indians, doubtless under the inspiration of the British commander at the post of Vincennes, became restless, when Lamott felt it unsafe to remain there.

The village of Palestine is located on the south end of Lamott prairie, about one and one-half miles from the Wabash river, and about one-half of this space is heavily timbered. On this east side of the prairie, northeast from the village is a deep lake covering several hundred acres of land, with a depth originally of from fifteen to twenty feet in places. The outlet from this lake was through what is called Arthur slough, taking the name from a colored family that soon after the war settled on its west bank and built a cabin in which they resided for several years.

Surrounding this prairie were belts of heavy timber, in the fall of the year furnishing an abundant supply of hickory nuts, walnuts, butternuts and pecan nuts, and in the glades surrounding the prairie were found in the summer season, the wild plum, cherry and persimmons, also strawberries, gooseberries and sarvice berries, raspberries and blackberries in great abundance. Game was also abundant, bear, deer and wild turkeys; and of furred animals were the bears, otters, raccoons and other smaller animals; and of the cat-kind, the panther and wild cats.

On the south end of the prairie were patches of ground where the Indians raised their corn, and the stake around which they held their "green corn dance" was left standing for some time after the Indians had left. No wonder they were loath to leave, this to them, a very paradise and native garden.

In 1811 the first pioneers invaded this prairie. Three families from the state of Tennessee; their names were Boatright, Eaton and Cullom, distant relatives of Senator Cullom. These families only brought with them such property and oxen and cows as they regarded as necessary in their new homes.

For some time after their arrival their relations with the Indians were amicable, but after the breaking out of the war with England, these friendly relations were soon somewhat less cordial and created apprehension of danger; and as among all races of people, the Kickapoos (that being the tribe then occupying that section around there) had among them some lawless men. These emigrants, being apprehensive of injury from this element of the tribe, built two block houses, into which they removed their families, on the west side of the prairie, where they remained secure from attack from the evil-minded until after the close of the war; but when required to leave the fort to engage in the necessary work in their fields they took with them their rifles, The women kept watch all through the day and, at the approach of a party of Indians, blew a horn, when the men would drop the work and make for the block houses. During the war no serious harm was done to them except occasional theft. After the war there was an influx of population from the older states, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Ohio and Virginia. The town of Palestine was laid out near the southern line of Lamott prairie. Joseph Kitchell and Wilson Lagon donated a public square, and each alternate lot, on the plot of the town, to the county when it should be organized as a county seat.

The county of Crawford was organized by the territorial legislature in 1816, being the eighth county organized in the Territory of Illinois. In 1818 a convention was called to form a constitution with a view to being admitted into the union of States. Joseph Kitchell and Edward Cullom were elected as delegates from Crawford to that convention. The county was organized under the act of 1818 with a full set of county officers. David McGahey was elected Probate Justice of the Peace; J. S. Woodworth, Sheriff, and Edward C. Pifer, Circuit Clerk. Joseph Kitchell was elected to the State Senate, and

David Porter to the House of Representatives. At the first session of the General Assembly, Palestine was fixed as the county seat, and so continued until 1844.

I go back in point of time to about the close of the war of 1812. A man by the name of Hutson with his family settled at the mouth of Hutson creek, a small stream emptying into the Wabash river, where the village of Hutsonville was since built, nine miles north of Palestine. Both the creek and the village take their names from the original settler. Hutson was a Quaker and did not apprehend danger. While absent one day from his cabin the Indians, supposed to be Delawares, raided his home and killed his wife and three of his children, and took his eldest daughter captive, as is supposed, her body not being found. From one Indian woman he learned that it was a party of Delawares that raided his home, and that they had crossed the river into Indiana. He determined to follow them and was not afterwards heard of. It is supposed he was killed by them while searching for his daughter.

Among the first records that were made by the clerk of the circuit court of Crawford county was a certificate of the clerk of the court of Battelora county, Virginia, given to one Abram Camp who on account of his color had been held as a slave. In his petition he averred that his mother was a Mohawk Indian and the evidence showed this to be true, and the judge decreed that he was entitled to his freedom. He came to Illinois and settled a few miles above Vincennes in what is now Lawrence county, then a part of Crawford. His certificate had become somewhat worn and obliterated, it having been given to him by the court in 1786 and he had it recorded in Crawford county so that he could be protected from arrest as a slave by men who were engaged in stealing negroes and taking them south, and when an owner or claimant was not found, selling them into slavery. Some of the descendants of Abram Camp are yet living in the regions where he settled and built a house.

The records of the county also show that in July, 1819, three Indians of the Delaware tribe were indicted by a grand jury for the murder of one Thomas McCall, a white man. They called themselves William Kilbuck, Captain Thomas and Big Panther. Kilbuck claimed to be a chief in his tribe, and on being brought before the court for trial, Capt. Thomas, and Big Panther, by their attorney, secured a continuance until the next term. Kilbuck, being a chief, disdained to ask for delay and demanded an immediate trial. Judge Thomas C. Brown, a member of the Supreme Court, was presiding; after ordering the two prisoners, whose cases had been continued, into the custody of the sheriff, the court proceeded to the trial of Chief Kilbuck. The jury found him "guilty" of murdering Thomas McCall. Motion was made by his attorney for a new trial. The court ordered the prisoners into the custody of the sheriff and adjourned court until next day, when he would hear the motion for new trial. In the morning the sheriff reported to the court that all three of the prisoners had escaped from his custody. There being no jail, perhaps the "guards slept upon their watch." The motion for new trial is still pending.

The Kickapoo Indians that occupied the country along the Wabash river on either side from the old post Vincennes to Fort Wayne, Indiana, seem to have been less troublesome to the settlers than those of the other tribes that often made incursions into their territory. * * * After the close of the war and after most Indians had left that section, a body of Indians were discovered on Africa Ridge. The river having overflowed the low lands, the ridge could only be reached by water craft. Much uneasiness was felt by the little settlement of emigrants. It was finally agreed that a deputation of five men should cross the water to the ridge and ascertain what purpose the Indians had in thus invading the ridge. So the five men entered the canoes, bearing a white flag, started for the ridge, a high point of land east of the village one mile; but before they reached the ridge the Indians began firing arrows at them. Regarding this as an unfriendly salutation they turned the canoes to the other shore and escaped injury, though some of the men said they heard the whistle of the arrows rather close to their ears. In a few days the Indians embarked in their canoes and were no more heard of. There has always been some question whether they fired their arrows with intent to kill or whether they only desired to scare the men approaching them.

Upon opening the Indian mounds in which their dead had been interred there were found bones, skulls, hair, arrow heads, stone hatchets, brass, and other trinkets, besides rude pottery, supposed to have belonged to the deceased, and supposed to be necessary for the use of the departed when they enter the "happy hunting ground." In two of the mounds opened on Africa Ridge were found skeletons of Indians, evidently men of large proportions, that had been buried in a sitting posture with a flag stone under their bodies and a like stone on either side and a covering of the same material, both bodies facing the east. Whether these were remains of a more ancient race or whether they had been distinguished chiefs remains an open question.

Having given a brief description of the country and its environment when the first settlements were made in this locality in 1811, this being the first white settlement north of the Higgins family who came to Edwards County in 1809, I now propose to give you some account of the village of Palestine, for many years the most important commercial and trading point north of Vincennes on the west side of the Wabash river. For many years it commanded the trade of a large section lying northwest and south, but the small village labored under great disadvantage; until steamboats began to ply the river, the skiff, the pirogue and the bateau were the sole means of transportation. When the steamers were introduced merchants could obtain their supplies more readily and at cheaper rates than by the old method. O. H. Bristol, an enterprising merchant of Palestine, built a warehouse at the mouth of Lamott Creek in which farmers could store their produce and merchants their goods to await removal either to their stores or to distant markets.

The village was of slow growth, but contained an enterprising class of merchants and mechanics and continued slowly to increase until it lost the county seat. Then for a time it seemed to stand still,

until the Effingham S. E. R. R. was completed, when it put on new life, and is now one of the most attractive towns in eastern Illinois, with its business houses, electric lights, shops, its schools and churches, surrounded by a prosperous farming community, rendering it in my view one of the most desirable localities in eastern Illinois.

Palestine was not only the first settled in this section of the State but has furnished many of the officers of the State, having the land office for many years; the register and receiver were citizens of the place under appointment of the President. It had a delegate in every constitutional convention of the State except that of 1847. * * * It had the judge of the circuit court elected for the second term. It had the Attorney General of the State for one term (Wickliffe Kitchell). One of the citizens, A. C. French, was twice elected Governor of the State. One other of her citizens was nominated by the Democratic party for Governor, but failed of election. And one of her citizens was three times elected to the Congress of of the United States, twice from the district and once from the State at large. It furnished the clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States for one term of Congress, besides clerk of the circuit and county courts for much of the time since the county was organized. Though a small village in point of numbers, she has made herself somewhat conspicuous in the life of the State.

The county of Crawford when first organized embraced all of the country lying north of the north line of Edwards county, but the organization of other counties lying to the north and one county south (Lawrence) has circumscribed her limits to a reasonable size; but with her great variety of soil, her excellent climate and productions of fruits, grass and grains, she can compete with any county in this section. She has an enterprising class of business men and an exceptionally good class of farmers and is a desirable location for any one seeking a new location.

The Kitchell cemetery near Palestine holds the remains of five daughters and two sons, the wife and children of Joseph and Rachel Kitchell, their daughters, the wives of E. S. Janey, O. H. Bristol, Dr. Harmon Alexander, Judge Presley, O. Wilson, Governor, A. C. French and J. C. Allen, besides many grand-children. It is also the last resting place of Judge John Looker, a Revolutionary soldier under General George Washington, an officer in his army. He was born in New Jersey and entered the army from that state; was with the army when it crossed the Delaware. After the close of the war he came to Cincinnati and was for several years engaged in the schools in that city. He was a man of fine education and acquired distinction as an educator, and afterwards was elected county judge of that county. Though not a lawyer he was regarded as an efficient and upright judicial officer. In his declining days he came to Palestine in 1844 to spend his last days with his daughter, Rachel Kitchell, widow of Joseph Kitchell, deceased. At a fourth of July celebration in 1845, he presided over the meeting and delivered a short address at the solicitation of his friends. He appeared in his continental uniform, though bowed with the infirmities of age, he looked "every inch a soldier." I was with him in his last hour surrounded by his

daughter and grand-children. His last words were, "My life has been spared. I have tried to be useful. God calls and I obey the summons," and he fell asleep to wake as we believe to a higher and better life. This is my tribute to one of the most lovely characters I have ever known. He was buried and his headstone marks his grave which is surrounded by his daughter and all his grand-children.

I have tried to call attention to a part of our State that has received but little notice from its historians.

OLD KASKASKIA DAYS AND WAYS.

(By Stuart Brown.)

By a patent granted to John Cabot and his sons by Henry VII of England, they were empowered "to seek out and discover all islands, regions and provinces whatsoever that may belong to heathens and infidels, to subdue, occupy and possess these countries as his vassals and lieutenants." First discovery, first occupancy, peaceable and uncontested possession, these are the three bases upon which nations claim the territory of the weaker. As an example of this kind of reasoning Portugal claimed the Indian ocean, because of first discovery and navigation and forbade all others from using the route around the Cape of Good Hope. Further the discovery of the mouth of a great river was claimed to give the right of occupancy to a nation of the entire valley of the said stream and to all the countries watered by its tributaries

These statements may seem dry as dust to you, but they were of great and absorbing interest to the dwellers in Old Kaskaskia. I cannot, in the short space of time allotted to me, do more than touch upon the facts, but just for a moment see where they lead you. John Cabot of the so-called civilized nations first touched upon the coast of North America. He was an Italian but he flew the flag of Henry and so England claimed all of North America. Jacques Cartier in 1534 sailed up the St. Lawrence and for Francis I, he claimed the whole mainland of Canada. This was afterwards elaborated into a claim for the valley of the St. Lawrence and all its tributaries which of course included the Great Lakes and all their surroundings. DeSoto, the Spaniard, in 1541 first saw the Mississippi and his party, or the remnants of it, sailed through its mouth.

Marquette, the Frenchman, in 1673 first navigated its middle reaches and saw the Missouri and what he calls the Ouabache, what is now the Ohio. And there you have the beginning of a very pretty quarrel, the shifting phase of which brought terror and troubles to Old Kaskaskians, for as family quarrels dip deep into fortunes so national disputes make and break towns.

When Father Marquette, that courtly, yet childlike Jesuit, that weak emaciated bony frame of a man, yet with a mind true as Castilian steel to his church and pupils, entrusted his body to a birch bark canoe and his soul to God, and paddled through the Fox and Wisconsin rivers in 1673, he stepped boldly, with open eyes, into the great unknown, and dared more highly than even Christopher Columbus.

GEN. GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

For in so much as death by fire at the stake with all the accompaniments of Indian torture exceeds the ill of death by drowning did his venture surpass that of the other. Marquette entered the Father of Waters from the Wisconsin and was not troubled by Fox, Sioux or Sac. He floated quietly down the great river, passed the beautiful Rock river and came to the Des Moines. Here an Indian trail came down to the Mississippi. He stopped and followed it to the west, and came to an encampment of many lodges.

Reflect what courage it required to step boldly from the timber and walk out into the open field and advance toward those painted savages who stood in silent wonder to see the black robe approach. An old chief met him with a welcome and the pipe of peace. He was entertained by a repast. First he was given sampine or sagamité, a species of corn mush, then broiled fish from which the bones were carefully taken, then with the greatest delicacy of all, roast dog. Each dish was taken and the first three mouthfuls were placed in his mouth by the hand of the chief, then the calumet pipe was smoked in religious gravity; these were the general customs of the Indians. Then, and not till then, was he asked where he came from and where he was going. To his question as to who they were, the chief replied, Inini or perfect men, so named to distinguish them from the Iroquois who were called beasts by the western Indians. This word Inini was changed to Illini by the French and in the Algonquin plural should have been Illiniwug but with the French plural became Illinese or Illinois, and thus our State obtained its name.[1]

Marquette passed the Missouri and the Illinois, the Kaskaskia, which then had another name, and the place where afterwards our Kaskaskia was built; passed the Ohio and when he ascertained that the Mississippi did not flow into the Pacific and probably did enter the Gulf of Mexico, returned on July 17th, to the North. Everywhere his Illinois calumet brought him peace and safety. On his return he entered the Illinois river and saw the prairies; soon he came to the original town of Kaskaskia which was the home of the Indians of the same name. There were then 74 lodges. It was on the wide bottom and directly south of Utica in LaSalle county.[2]

This nation was very friendly and desired Marquette to return, and he did so in 1675 and established there a mission which he called "The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin." This was *the Old*, the oldest, Kaskaskia. When Father Claude Allouez came to it in 1676, there were 351 cabins ranged along the river, and Membré in the same year estimated the number of Indians at 7,000. It was probably one of the largest, if not the largest, Indian town in this country. The immediate successor of Allouez was Rasles, then came Gravier, who studied the language and stated its principles. In the meantime LaSalle and Hennepin had seen it. Tonti had lived and fought there. The Iroquois had descended upon the Illinois and killed thousands of men, women, and children.

1. *Jesuit Relations*, vol 72, p. 310 (references on the variations of name.).
2. Cf. this narrative with that of Marquette in *The Jesuit Relations*, (Thwaites ed.) vol. 59, pp. 89-163. [Ed.].

Through the dispersion of the Indians by the Pottawattomies and the Iroquois and the change of route of the voyagers and fur traders, who found the way by the Fox and Wisconsin rivers to the Mississippi shorter and less difficult, the French post at Fort St. Louis was abandoned and Father Gabriel Marest, who was in charge there of the Jesuit Mission, persuaded the Illinois tribes to move down the Mississippi to get away from their foes and be in better touch with the French, who were settling at Mobile and at the mouth of the Mississippi. In the summer of 1700, Marest stopped at the mouth of the river which was later called Kaskaskia after the tribe. Then began the real Kaskaskia, *Our Kaskaskia*. The place took its name from the Kaskaskia tribe of the Illinois Confederacy of the Algonquin nation, and was spelled in many different ways at first: Cachecachequia, by Marquette; Kachkachkia, by Allouez; Cascaskias, by Membré; Cascasquias, by Marest; Kaskasquias, by Charlevoix. At an early date in the eighteenth century it was settled, however, as Kaskaskia. Its significance in English, so far as I know, is unknown; but it is a singular fact that the only names containing the three K's in any language are all of the Algonquin tongue: Kalkaska, Mich.; Kekaskee, Wis.; Keokuk, Ia; Kaskaskia and Kankakee in Illinois.[1]

The Illinois Confederacy was composed of the Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Tamaroas, Peorias and Mitchigamias, and at one time was numerous, but finally was driven south by the Pottawatomies and Iroquois and all its tribes settled in or near Kaskaskia. In 1830 they were all merged into the Kaskaskia tribe and in 1833 migrated in a body to the West. In 1849 there were 165 Peorias and Kaskaskias at Quapaw, I. T. Ducogne, their last chief, boasted that his tribe had never shed the blood of a white man. The early explorers found them to be of a somewhat gentler and more refined nature than other savages. In later times they cultivated some corn in the American Bottom, exchanged furs with the white traders, became drunken, lazy, and degraded and lost that simple dignity which the American Indian is supposed to possess.

The site of the new settlement was fixed on the right bank of the Kaskaskia river about six miles above its entry into the Mississippi river and about two miles from the latter. Here the Kaskaskia river was about 350 feet wide, and the bluffs on the opposite side were about 200 feet high. The village was named by the Jesuits "Le Village de l'Immaculée Conception de Cascasquias," and was not laid out in any regular form but like most Indian villages consisted of a row of lodges or huts scattered along the river. The scenery at the confluence of the two rivers is said by all observers to have been beautiful: the point of land with its cottonwood trees coming to the rivers; the bluffs of the east towering above the placid river; crowned with a virgin forest, descending on the east gradually to the open prairies with their beautiful grasses and flowers. The place was well adapted to become a center of influence for the western country; half way between the Wisconsin and Natchez, when the river route was the only way from Canada to New Orleans; with the richest of alluvial

1. Cf. *Jesuit Relations*, (Thwaites ed.) vol. 53, references in index under *Kaskaskia*. [Ed.].

soils to furnish hominy and flour and bacon for the voyageur; with the Kaskaskia to float down the peltries of Central and Eastern Illinois to the fur trader; with the Merrimac, a short distance above to lead out into Missouri and within 100 miles above the great tributaries, the Missouri and the Illinois; with wood inexhaustible for building and firewood; with water in abundance and stone of good quality in the bluffs; with the Mississippi as a barrier to the hostile western Indians; with the friendly Illinois to protect them from the murderous Shawnees of the southwestern part of Illinois, the warlike Pottawattomies of the north, and the thieving Kickapoos of the east; with the English and the Spanish too far away to be threatening. This surely was a paradise for the hunter and voyageur.

To the Jesuits, the Indian was as good a soul to save as the white man. For the coureur de bois and the voyageur the Indian woman made a good wife to take care of his house and toil for him in his winter holidays. There are few chronicles of this period except such as are contained in the letters of the missionaries and the church marriage and baptismal registers.

But in 1712, on September 14, Louis XIV granted to one Anthony Crozat, a merchant of Paris, for the term of fifteen years a sole monopoly of commerce and a direction of affairs of all the vast territory from the Carolinas to Old and New Mexico and from the Illinois to the mouth of the Mississippi. Crozat was after gold and silver and only incidentally expected profit from furs. Until his advent Kaskaskia was a portion of Canada; now it was a part of Louisiana. Crozat's exploring parties in all directions did not find gold or silver, but they did discover large deposits of lead and iron in southeastern Missouri, and the miners at these places had to draw their food supplies from Kaskaskia. Besides, many who came to work in the mines found the half nomadic life of Kaskaskia more attractive and located at Kaskaskia. Crozat's venture not proving a profitable one, he gave it up in despair and surrendered his rights on Aug. 23, 1717, and thereupon the government reverted to the crown.

The history of a single voyageur and hunter will be enough to make a type of old Kaskaskia. Jules may have come to Mobile as a soldier under Iberville and concluded to remain after his term of enlistment had expired; he may have accompanied Phillippe Renault, who after stopping at San Domingo with his 200 artisans and purchasing 500 African slaves, came to Kaskaskia in 1719. It is more likely that Jules was a Canadian born in the woods and accustomed to the birch canoe since infancy. The birch canoe was the great carrier of the wilderness, the Frenchman's steamboat. It was of three sizes usually; the smallest for one or two oarsmen, about twelve to fourteen feet long, the second of about twenty feet in length for four paddles, and the largest called the canot maitre, which was thirty-six feet long and could carry fourteen persons and their bundles. All were made of light dry cedar frames, were pointed at the ends and constructed of a single roll of birch bark, fastened to the frame by sinews through holes made by a square shaped awl and made water-tight with pine gum. In these they voyaged on lake or river, and made those long and painful journeys. Capable of transporting heavy burdens, they

could, when unloaded, be carried with ease upon the shoulders of men; they could ascend rivers, pass around rapids and falls, ascend mountains or penetrate the forest; a terror to the inexperienced, they were swift and sure carriers for Jules. In one of these perchance he had sailed and paddled through the Great Lakes to Green Bay and then upon the Fox and down the Wisconsin and Mississippi to Kaskaskia, or he had gone down Lake Michigan to Chicago and up the Chicago to go down the Desplaines and Illinois. In each case he must take the portage and this was the only craft he could carry.

Jules was light hearted and gay. He was simple and temperate. He was placid as he smoked in his red cap by some cottage door; then he would be excited, raving, weeping, threatening in the crowd. The merriest of mortals, he was one of the hardiest and also the handiest. He could swim like an otter, run like a deer, paddle all day without resting; while he paddled he sang or told stories, and laughter was his dear companion. He could imitate the Indian yell, mimic the hissing rattle snake, could skin a deer, scrape a fiddle. And now Jules was come to Kaskaskia and he had saved a little sum of gold or silver, which he had concealed in some leathern bag in a place he knew of. And here at Kaskaskia was a place where nature had been bountiful. Here he could raise corn for sagamité and hominy. Here the maple yielded him sugar; here was cotton for garments; and wheat for flour. Around him were fertile, grassy prairies for cattle to grow fat upon, and rivers to travel by. Wild grapes, plums, persimmons and cherries in abundance for his use, and pecans, acorns, hickory nuts, hazel and walnuts for his swine. Here were buffalo, elk and deer for hides and food. The rivers were full of fish, while the forests abounded in fur bearing animals, whose skins he might acquire and sell. Then there were Indians to trade with in many directions. So Jules decided to settle here and marry a French woman, if possible; if not, an Indian maid. Here at Kaskaskia he could find these with music and dancing and a glass of domestic wine to complete his enjoyment. Here he could cut his own lumber, make his own mortar, get a lot near others of his kind and procure a deed for his corn field with a right of common for wood and pasture. Here he would marry and live in elegant ease on what he could farm and shoot, and would make one voyage a year of three or four months long. Here he had no taxes. Here he had a mild, paternal government. Here he was lazy when the mood suited and happy always; with the Father to give him consolation on the door-step of death and bury him with the rites of Holy Church.

During the time of Crozat, however, the Canadian French as hunters and voyageurs had been coming to Kaskaskia in increasing numbers, and quite a settlement had sprung up at several places on the American Bottom.

On Sept. 6, 1717, the Compagnie d'Occident was authorized by the Parliament of Paris, upon the plan of the English South Sea Company. It was given the exclusive control of the commerce of Louisiana for twenty-five years, to begin January 1, 1718. The company was under the brilliant, if erratic, leadership of John Law. The most extravagant dreams of the wealth of precious metals, and other pro-

ducts of the valley of the Mississippi were told as facts. The shares of the company were driven up in price until they had appreciated 1300 per cent; whole streets in Paris were given over to stock jobbers and speculators. Fortunes were made in a day. The gains of regular industry were despised and all classes went wild over the speculation. John Law was a demi-god. The bubble burst in the summer of 1720 and in December of that year John Law was a poverty stricken wanderer on the face of the earth.

The Company of the West with all its misfortunes did, however, benefit Kaskaskia. In December, 1718, M. Pierre Duqué de Boisbriant came to Kaskaskia as commander of, or rather commandant of, the Seventh District of Louisiana, called the District of Illinois and Wabash, and Kaskaskia became the capital of a territory that was claimed to extend from the head waters of the Ohio to the Rocky Mountains. Kaskaskia, however, only enjoyed this eminence for fifteen months; for Boisbriant selected a suitable place for a wooden fort, to be called Fort Chartres, which was located about sixteen miles above Kaskaskia. Here the "company" built its warehouses and the Jesuits erected the Church of St. Anne de Fort Chartres.

About this time Kaskaskia began to assume some form. The increased activity all along the river, the greater security, of life the greater ease and facility of transportation, gave an impetus to agriculture and a market for products of the soil and the chase. The farmer who had heretofore relied on Indian titles now applied to the company and the crown to affirm the same.

Boisbriant laid out the great square or common field on the prairie and designated to each farmer his separate field, one-half arpent in width and one mile in length from the Kaskaskia to the Mississippi rivers. He then established also a common for stock and timber outside of the cultivated fields and running to the mouth of the Kaskaskia. On the east side of the Kaskaskia he also set apart the bottom lands for a cattle range.

The town was laid out in blocks of 300 feet square with narrow streets at right angles. These blocks were divided into four lots, enclosed by cedar posts touching each other, two feet in the ground and five feet above ground, with tops sharpened to a point. This made a fence difficult to climb. A neat gate just opposite the front door of the house allowed entrance. In each of these enclosures was a house made of posts set in the ground about two feet apart. The interstices were filled with a mortar made of clay and straw mixed. The houses were whitewashed inside and out. The roofs were of straw thatch. The windows were sometimes glazed; the doors were plain batten work. To each house was attached a porch called a gallery, and a stone well with a windlass was in the rear of the house. Later some few of the houses were built of stone.

Though Boisbriant suggested it, not until 1727 did they fence off the common from the cultivated fields, and thus save the continual herding of the cattle. It was during the administration of Boisbriant that France and Spain were at war, and Old Kaskaskia was saved from possible future trouble by the mistake of Indian guides. The

Spaniards intended to employ the Osages to slaughter the Missouris but were led to the Missouris, and in ignorance exposed the plan, thus inviting their own destruction.[1]

Here is the way the news came to Old Kaskaskia.[2]

Monsieur Boisbriant was playing cards one Sabbath afternoon with St. Gemmé Beauvais who afterwards made the long river journey to Duquesne and helped defeat Braddock; and with Langlois DeLisle, who was some years later burned at the stake with D'Artaguette, the young people were making merry with music and dancing in the large room of the barracks, with a father from the Jesuit college to watch, when the "assembly" sounded at the guard post on the Mississippi. You may be sure there was much hurry by the soldiers and young men to doff their Sunday best cloth and get into buckskin. By the time the culverines were loaded and the militia were properly disposed, a strange cavalcade came into sight. First came sixty Missouri warriors armed with flint lock, saber, and hatchet, each bearing what looked like a lacrosse stick, but on closer inspection appeared as a scalp stretched on a willow frame attached to a pole. Then came old Merameck, chief of the Missouris, mounted on a beautiful grey roan with Spanish saddle and silver bit, and Father Bénat threw up his hands in holy horror and told his beads rapidly; for, awful to relate, around the horse's neck was hung the holy chalice, as if it was a bell, while on Merameck's naked, painted body was the chasuble and suspended from his grimy neck the paten; other warriors on horses came next, decked in garments of holy church. In grave silence they dismounted, gathered together and sat down upon the ground, and said, "We come in peace, not war, O Chieftain." After the bread was broken and the pipe lighted in Indian religious gravity, Boisbriant said, "Why do you come, O Merameck, and what bring you?"

And Merameck spoke as follows: Not half a moon ago we had just finished a fast of three days by the hung deer to appease Manito who had sent but little game to our hunting grounds; our sages had slept on fresh deer skins to bring wisdom from the dream god, when one of our young men came running up and said that a vast cavalcade from the Santa Fe country was approaching led by the riding Comanches. Soon we saw a captain with yellow face and hair of night, followed by seventy horsemen with as many more led horses and cattle loaded with burdens. When they approached, we received them with hospitality and Manito unlocked their lips to tell us that they were Spaniards come by a long hard journey from the southern mountains to attack Kaskaskia. Manito also led them to believe we were Osages and, oh! wonder of wonders, they asked us as Osages, who, as you know, are our mortal enemies, to attack and slaughter the Missouris ourselves, knowing that as Missouris we would not permit you to be harmed. We asked to counsel on the matter and as they yet did not know us we promised to help them. Then they took down some of the burdens and gave us 500 muskets, sabres and hatchets. We asked for three days to assemble our warrriors, and on

1 Cf. Bossu, *Travels through that part of North America formerly called Louisiana.* Vol. 1, pp. 150-154.—[Ed.]

2. Wallace. Ill. and La., pp. 268-269, from Bossu's Travels.

the morning of the second day at dawn we attacked these perfidious ones and killed all but one blackrobe whom we spared and allowed to flee as he was dressed as a woman and not as a warrior. This horse we bring to you, O chieftain, and these ornaments which we cannot use we would exchange for goods.

And Boisbriant gave them goods and took the holy ornaments which he afterwards sent to Bienville at New Orleans with his account of the tale. And that night, the fifteenth day having arrived, the people of Kaskaskia went to the Missouri camp fire and saw them dance the scalp dance, and bury the scalps. For it is the custom of these people, after scalps have been taken, for fifteen days, each day, before retiring to rest, to gather in a circle around maidens who hold the sticks aloft upon which are the scalps, and dance madly around, emitting yells and war cries which would arouse the dead, feinting and striking at each other as if in war. And on the fifteenth night they do bury the scalps lest the spirits of the dead warriors may come to haunt them.

Sometime in the summer of 1720 Boisbriant removed his headquarters to Fort Chartres and Kaskaskia ceased to be the capital of the District. In 1725 Boisbriant became acting governor of Louisiana and went to New Orleans, and in this year the first great overflow of the Mississippi occurred. He was succeeded by Capt. deLiette of the Royal Army, who had many troubles with the Fox Indians on the north.

In 1730 Capt. St. Ange was Commandant. In 1731 the India Company gave back to the Crown the province of Louisiana and Louis XV assumed control on April 10, 1732. In 1734 Bienville came back as governor of Lousiana and appointed Capt. Pierre D'Artaguette as Major-Commandant at the Illinois. It was during his administration of the Illinois country that the war with the Chickasaws was carried on.[1] Here is a picture of his march and fate. I introduce it to show what perils the old Kaskaskian soldier had to face besides the ordinary dangers of a war in the wilderness, without surgeons, without anaesthetics, without other food and powder than they could carry on their backs.)

It was a chilly day in January 1736 ,when a "canot-maitre" came up the river and stopped at Old Kaskaskia. People were wearing buffalo robe coats and worsted stockings and were stamping around the landing watching the big ice cakes whirl down the rapid running Mississippi. In the stern of the canoe was a man wrapped in a couple of blankets; his nose was blue and his teeth chattered when he asked if Major D'Artaguette was in Kaskaskia. The major happened to be there on that day and the stranger walked rapidly up to the town, leaving his men to take care of themselves as best they could. The curious followed after and soon it was noised about that Captain Le Blanc was come from New Orleans with news that a great campaign was to be commenced against the Chickasaws, and now couriers pushed across country to order Sieur Vincennes, who was well known to Kaskaskia people as a nephew of Joliet's and a brave fighter, to

1. Cf. Dumont. *Memoires Historiques de la Louisiane.* (Paris 1753) pp. 228-231; and Bossu Travels. vol. 1, pp. 311-312. [ED.]

gather together his French militia and Miami Indians and join D'Artaguette down the river. Orders were also sent to Moncherval at Cahokia to bring his Cahokias and Mitchigamias from the Illinois, and chiefs of the Kaskaskias and Missouris were hastening to their lodges to light the fires and dance the war dance. The trappers and hunters from many a winter hut on the Kaskaskia and the Merrimac came quickly to town and there was a general burnishing and sharpening of arms and tinkering with batteaux and canoes. For everyone hated the Chickasaws because they had cut off many a boat load of furs and flour on the way to New Orleans and many a family had lost a voyageur.

It was a long time though, as things go, before they were ready and not till late in February did the expedition start. After a special mass in the little church and a long procession to the boats the old men, the women and the children, saw the thirty regular troops with the white coats, the blue epaulets, and the funny hats, with the bright-eyed D'Artaguette and the black robed Father Sénat at their head, and the 100 militia of the wood and river men, in white capots and elk-skin leggins take to the boats. Then came the 200 Illinois and Missouri Indians properly bedecked in paint and feathers, in their log canoes. Many an eye was sad, for the Chickasaws were valiant warriors; but there was a great chatter of *bon voyage* and a great waving of caps and handkerchiefs as the long procession dropped down the river and faded away. It was many weeks before Moncherval and his Cahokias passed on the same errand and then there were weeks of weary waiting.

It was Sunday in old Kaskaskia and the cherry blossoms had come and gone, the June was here and the full leaved cottonwoods were dipping thirstily to the stream on the river banks. The whole population had gone to the church and the morning service was just finished when a man with his clothing torn and bloody, with a face that looked like a death's head and eyes that were burning up with fever staggered to the door. A woman cried, "Jules," and the priest stopped in his concluding remarks. The man walked in with his cap on, and like a child who has a confession to make began to speak hurriedly and with all his soul alert, and as he spoke, he feebly waved his hands as one who seeks for air and gets it not.

"Tis malediction I bring to you blessed ones, but I must tell it now and quickly. We went to Fort Prudhomme with the Major, and Vincennes joined us with twenty French and 100 Miamis. We waited long for Bienville; he came not; we waited longer for Moncheval, he was not there. Our maize and hog meat ran short; our Indians were clamorous to begin. We marched alone to the attack. We marched a weary twenty leagues and came to the towns of the Chickasaws; they were awaiting us, and we were forced to attack. We pass two lines of fortification. We are successful but we pay the price. At the third line D'Artaguette falls severely wounded. The Miamis betray us; the Illinois and Missouris run like sheep. They who were so eager to fight are cowards when we need them. We try to drag Father Sénat and Vincennes away but they will not come and leave their wounded friend. These, with fifteen others are taken by the

fiends. I hang around to try and help them. Bienville attacks from the other side and is defeated with great loss. D'Artaguette, Vincennes, Sénat, and the others remain in the hands of the Chickasaws. Then comes a day of feasting and noise and in the afternoon they bring out the French. They tie them by fours to saplings and dance the death dance, while I watch from a near by tree. They build piles of hickory poles in circles around them and set fire to the poles, and when the fires burn down they rush in toward them in crowds; they stick them with the hot poles; they discharge their guns loaded only with powder into their bodies. Ah, Jesus, I hear their hateful screams and above all the din the song of Sénat as he chanted his requiem mass. My ears ring with it. My eyes burn with the sight, until I cannot eat or sleep. And then there was silence and they are all dead—all! all!"

And while he said this the people of Kaskaskia stood and listened and shivered, first a sweat and then a fever, and little groans ran through the crowd and lips were bleeding and hands were clenched and when the man threw up his hands and fell full length on the floor, it was as if a demon had seized the crowd for it rushed out the doors as if with a common impulse to seek the pure fresh air. After the cruel death of D'Artaguette, Alphonse de laBuissoniere was sent to Fort Chartres; in 1739 he led the Kaskaskians again to war on the Chickasaws. In 1740 came Captain Benoist de St. Clair and in 1743 Chevalier de Bertel. In 1744 the war with England brought many apprehensions to old Kaskaskians; the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, allayed the suspense, but you must remember that it was months before it was known at Kaskaskia.

In 1749 came back the popular Captain St. Clair who married a daughter of the town on his arrival. In 1751 came Chevalier de McCarty, an Irishman by descent and a Major of Engineers. He built the new stone Fort Chartres, said to have cost a million dollars. It was finished in 1756. Now came the seven years war with England, beginning with Fort Necessity and Braddock's defeat followed by Louisbourg and finally by Quebec. Kaskaskians saw George Washington march out of Fort Necessity and tramp back to Virginia. Kaskaskians shot at him on Braddock's field. Kaskaskians were at Quebec and saw Wolfe storm the heights of Abraham, and Wolfe and Montcalm die gloriously on that field where the lilies of France in the New World were eaten up by the English lion.

By the peace of 1763 Kaskaskia became English, but it was not until the first week of October, 1765, that Captain Thomas Sterling came from Fort Pitt with 100 Highlanders of the 42nd to take possession of Kaskaskia and Fort Chartres. It fell to the lot of Captain St. Ange de Bellerive to deliver up the possession.

On Dec. 4, 1765, came Major Robert Farmer from Mobile with a strong detachment of the 34th foot, then Colonel Cole and Capt. John Reed. Lieut. Col. John Wilkins of the 18th Royal Regiment of Ireland, came from Philadelphia in 1768; his administration was unpopular. His successor, Capt. Hugh Lord of the 18th British Regiment came in 1771, and staid until 1775. In the freshet of 1772 one wall and bastion of Fort Chartres was undermined by the Mississippi

river and fell; and the garrison was hastily transported to Kaskaskia which came back to its own as the capital. Fort Gage, just across the Kaskaskia river, was renovated and remained the seat of British authority on the Mississippi until the conquest by George Rogers Clark in 1778. When the English took actual possession of Kaskaskia, many of the wealthiest people, although they were permitted the free exercise of religion, would not be ruled by the English and departed for Louisiana or to St. Genevieve and St. Louis. The Jesuits had been banished from France in 1764 and soon after the order was condemned by the Pope.

The French method of government by a commandant and the parish priest was not suited to the Saxon education or temperment. The bulk of the population however remained in Kaskaskia for the English occupation was not a real settlement but only a military occupation.

I shall not attempt to portray in detail the conquest of Kaskaskia by George Rogers Clark and his four small companies of rangers. How he assembled them at the head waters of the Ohio; brought them down in boats to Southern Illinois; made the weary march across the wilderness; surprised M. Rocheblave the Frenchman and English governor; how he took the town and by efficient aid of Gibault retained it and made our peace with the assembled Algonquin tribes. * * * I shall only point out how all the past dovetailed in to make our position more secure. If valiant old Champlain in his suit of plate armor had not met the Iroquois in the early part of the seventeenth century and thus obtained the fealty of the western tribes by antagonizing their mortal enemies, the eastern sea coast would have been an easier prey for the French. But, on the other hand, Father Marquette and the voyagers could not have made friends with the Algonquins. If France had not made a treaty of alliance with the United Colonies in February, 1778, Clark could not have secured the willing aid of the Kaskaskian French in July 1778, and their Indian friends would not have been so easily dealt with.

In 1784 came "le gros hiver" and the deep snow to make life more miserable for our gay subjects at Kaskaskia. In 1785 came the greatest overflow of the 18th century and the water rose to the floor of the old tavern. This caused more of the wealth and quality of Kaskaskia to desert the town for St. Genevieve and St. Louis in Missouri. But now there were other troubles gathering around Kaskaskia. It is true it was the capital of the great County of Illinois of Virginia and the place of residence of Col. John Todd, the Lieutenant Governor, but the American troops were badly paid and were boisterous and troublesome. They took what they needed and did so with a high hand and Monsieur B. Tardiveau was sent by the French inhabitants to the Continental Congress at New York to obtain redress and likewise to obtain some confirmation of the individual and communal grants which had been made by French authority to Kaskaskians. For Virginia had by that time made a grant of all that county to the Congress. There are rumors that Tardiveau had some opportunity to settle with various members of Congress; that he had an anxious and weary time in obtaining Kaskaskian rights. The history of the transaction shows that it is not alone in our time that rings and political

jobbery has had its birth. It was not until 1788 that Congress confirmed a portion of the French titles. It was then stated that there were eighty families at Kaskaskia.

On July 13, 1787, the ordinance of the North West Territory was passed and Arthur St. Clair was made Governor. One of the provisions of that ordinance prohibited slavery in the new territory and many Kaskaskians moved with their slaves to St. Louis, which had been ceded to Spain in 1763. With the coming of the territory of the Northwest, Kaskaskia again ceased to be a capital and went back to be the county seat of the new county of St. Clair which was the third county organized in the territory of the Northwest. In March, 1790, it was visited for the first time by Governor St. Clair. Later, in 1795, it became the county seat of Randolph county.

In 1800 Illinois became a part of the Indiana Territory and in 1809 it became a territory of the second class, governed by a governor and judges appointed by the President. Ninian Edwards of Kentucky was the first territorial governor and Kaskaskia again came into prominence as the capital. The residence of Governor Edwards was not, however, in the old town, but at a country seat called Elvirade, near there. In 1812 Illinois became a territory of the first class with a governor, legislature and a delegate in Congress, and Kaskaskia was still the capital.

Up to 1800 Kaskaskia had not greatly changed in character of population or in the number of inhabitants. In that year Governor Reynolds says there were but seven or eight English families that had settled there. There were then only about 3,000 persons other than Indians in the whole Territory of Illinois, of whom the French and their slaves were the large majority. After that date the population began to increase rapidly and by 1810 numbered 12,282. Kaskaskia became a centre of much influence. The American Bottom, as the strip of alluvial ground extending from Kaskaskia to Cahokia was called, was recognized as a most fertile soil. Immigrants came to Kaskaskia and halted, while they looked around for a place to locate and make a permanent home. The French element looked on with dismay when they saw the machinery of government beginning to turn, for they reasoned that this would breed taxation. They thought that a people which installed judges, a sheriff, a jail, and lawyers must be looking for litigation; that a community which needed two doctors must expect to be an unhealthy one.

Besides, the individuals who came to the new places were of a totally different type. They were Protestants by inclination and looked on the French observance of the Sabbath with its strict church duties in the morning and its gayety of the afternoon and night as an inheritance from the devil. Also those who drank were not as temperate as the French. They were too, like all the English, unwilling to fraternize with the Indian. They killed him when he was bad; they robbed him when he was drunk. They took his lands away from him and were not particular as to the manner of doing so. They encouraged the Indian in his dissipations and soon the Indian tribes began to melt away and the fur-bearing and food-producing animals departed with the coming of the settler and his farm; and so many

more of the gentler spirits among the French left the old home and their places were taken by a more vigorous yet ruder, by a more energetic, yet more common type of the pioneer or forerunner of civilization. The sprightly but somewhat refined dance of the old French gave way to the tavern revel, the jig and reel; the gay flash of the voyageur wit was displaced by the rude practical joke. The manners which imitated the air of the royal court were roughly cast aside for the boisterous ways of the trapper, the ranger, and the cow boy; and horse races, foot races, and wrestling were the amusement of the people.

The years 1811 and 1812 were years of trouble and dismay in Old Kaskaskia. In the first of these years, the inhabitants were frightened beyond description by a terrible earthquake which was felt in different degrees of intensity by the whole Mississippi valley. At Kaskaskia, the earth several times waved like a river agitated by the winds; the steeple of the church bent like a reed; the old bell rang with tremulous strokes like some unseen demon pulling on the bell cord; the cattle wild with a nameless fear, ran to and fro filling the air with howling; the soil cracked so deeply in the very streets that they could not sound the bottom of the crevice, and the water drawn from it exhaled a most disagreeable odor; stone and brick chimneys fell down; houses cracked as if it were doomsday. The people, believers and unbelievers, flocked to the church and listened with a Catholic zeal to the stout old Father Donatien Olivier as he implored mercy from Him whom the elements obey.

Those Kaskaskians who had presence of mind enough to watch the Indians saw that but few of those who had professed christianity had the faith of their former promises. The many camps around Kaskaskia were greatly disturbed and elaborate ceremonies were carried out to appease the visible wrath of Manito. Amidst the wailing and lamentations of the squaws and children the warriors cleansed their hands and faces and prepared for sacrifice to Manito. Deer freshly skinned were hung upon trees with their heads up to heaven. The calumet was smoked with sighing and groans. For three days the men did not speak to women or children and at night lay upon fresh skins with the hair next to the body. No food was taken during this time. All this to provoke dreams which to the Indian was the only mode of communication with Manito. At the end of the three days the council was held and those who had had unfavorable dreams appeared with half the face painted black. After the relation of all the dreams, and not until then, did they feast. If in the general opinion the auspices were favorable then the young men adorned themselves and spent hours laying on the colors with a hand glass, arranging their tresses. When one finally appeared in full paint and with hair and body anointed with bear's grease with two or three broad clasps of silver about each arm; with jewels in his ears; with a thin circular piece of silver about the size of a silver dollar depending from his nose resting on the upper lip; with painted porcupine quills in his hair; with tails of animals hanging down his back; with a necklace of bear's teeth or the claws of the bald eagle; with little perforated cylindrical pieces of silver or brass around his legs from the

knee down, which tinkled as he proudly stepped; he would not laugh or jest, speak loudly or express surprise; he was colder, more moody and more stolid than ever, but he was ready for the dance and there was the proud triumph of irrisistible charm in his eye.

In the year 1812 while England and America were preparing for war, came the great cyclone; and now Kaskaskia families took to the cellars while chimneys were humbled, log houses inverted, fences and strong posts carried away for miles, killing people and cattle, and wide swaths cut through the forests around.

The first territorial legislature of the Territory of Illinois, met at Kaskaskia on Thursday, the 26th day of November, 1812. Dr. George Fisher of Kaskaskia was elected Speaker of the House, and Mr. Thomas Swearengen doorkeeper. In view of certain recent controversies, it may be interesting to note that Mr. Swearengen was doorkeeper for both House and Council: that he was expected to carry all messages, both public and private; to provide wood and keep good fires in each room when the weather required it; to have each House swept clean every morning; to provide water for each House; to call any member by his proper name, and execute any other reasonable demands which a majority of either House might require. The Senate at this time was composed of five members and the House of seven. It is said that they boarded at the same public house and lodged in the same room. This, however, is not surprising when we understand that the entire amount of money collected for the territorial expenses from Nov. 1, 1811, to Nov. 8, 1814, was $2,516.89.

And now again there was a change, and between the years 1812 and 1818 it became pronounced. Men like Ninian Edwards, John McLean of Shawneetown; John Rice Jones, the Welsh lawyer from London, and his talented brood of boys; Nathaniel Pope, the secretary of Governor Edwards, the polished and educated gentleman; D. P. Cook, the editor of the Intelligencer; John Reynolds, chastened by his Tennessee education; Elias Kent Kane, the Yale graduate; Edward Coles of Virginia, private secretary to two presidents; the learned Sidney Breese, General Edgar J. Semple, Judges Lockwood and Wilson, Forquer, the Dodges, began to assert their places and exercise that influence which tells greatly in the formative period of a State; and to these were joined a great number of merchants who were men of rare common sense and ability, like the Mathers, the Lambs, the Morrisons, the Menards, the Judys. I wish I could go more deeply into this phase of Illinois history as it was fixed at Kaskaskia in order to give their proper meed of credit to these men, but time forbids.

The first State Legislatures, and the convention which framed the first constitution were held at Kaskaskia, and the town was then at the height of its glory. It is said that the admission of the State to the Union was delayed until the Constitution was so amended that Menard might hold office. Finally, on Dec. 3, 1818, Illinois was admitted to the Union and Kaskaskia was a State capital. And now again fate was unkind to Kaskaskia, for but a short time was she permitted to hold that honor. Vandalia was selected and built as a State capital, and Kaskaskia begins her last and fatal decline. St. Louis

began to absorb the growing trade with the great West. The politicians desert her for Vandalia; her merchants move to more inviting fields of effort.

In April 1825 General Lafayette, who had been touring the country, was persuaded by Governor Coles to stop at Kaskaskia on his trip from St. Louis to Nashville, Tenn. The visit was unheralded, but the townspeople trooped to the boat, and carried Lafayette in an informal procession to the residence of his old friend, Gen. John Edgar. Here he held an impromptu reception, which was followed by a banquet at Col. Sweet's, and a grand ball in the evening at Col. Morrison's. Levasseur, in his charming account of the trip was not as much impressed by the history and characteristics of the place as we would wish, but spent the greater part of the day in studying the Indian tribes, which were encamped around the town, and discovered an Indian woman, the wife of one Skiakape, whose father had been a chief in New York State at the time Lafayette was in command in northern New York at the close of the Revolution. This woman had kept a letter given her father by Lafayette at that time, which she proudly showed the General during the ball at night. This woman had been raised and educated by Col. Menard, but when she became of age had run back to the woods and married an Indian Chief. She sang for Lavasseur an Indian ballad, which has been paraphrased as follows:

Wah-wah-taysee, little fire fly,
Little flitting white fire insect.
By the shores of Arolachy,
Where the deer in plenty wander;
And the grasses and the flowers,
Kiss each other on the prairie;
Antakaya, brave and slender,
Loved the charming Manahella.
And upon the moon of flowers
He would take her to his wigwam.
Now, his heart was beating loudly,
For that moon would come tomorrow.
When the sun rose in its splendor.
Not for him was Manahella;
For the war-cry, loud and startling,
Called the warriors to the fray,
Called to battle Antakaya,
Called to fight the cruel white man.
But, he said to Manahella,
I will soon return, my sweetheart,
And the doorway of our wigwam
Will, with many scalps be furnished.

Days passed over Manahella,
Till her heart was sore and weary;
On the shores of Arolachy
Nightly did she pile the sea shells,
Tribute to the evil spirits,
Begged that they with all their powers,
Would keep from harm Antakaya.
But the unrelenting spirits,
Blew away with savage breathing,
All the tiny piles of sea shells;
All the hopes of Manahella.

And a warrior, pale and bloody,
Told her with abated accent;
How, her lover fighting nobly,
In the front of fiercest battle,
Had surrendered to the War God.
Weep poor ivy Manahella!
Never more your heart can cling
To your lordly oak of forest,
To the noble Antakaya.
And the heart of Manahella,
Broke, with all its weight of grieving,
Joined the fire flies of the evening.

But Antakaya sorely wounded
Fled with honor only left him
After days of weary travel,
Reached the shores of Arolachy,
Sought in vain for Manahella.
And he shouted in his madness
Manahella! Manahella!

Gory scalps, I could not bring thee,
But it was not lack of courage:
Evil spirits did command me.
Manito will surely help us.
Only come, and bring me pardon.
Loud and long, he vainly called her.
But the echo only mocked him.
Then a bright light, pure and holy,
Shone on the troubled Antakaya.
In its radiance clear and lovely
He saw the soul of Manahella.
All the night he followed blindly,
Praying it to stop and pardon:
When the day broke, cold and clammy,
To the great Lake Shore he stumbled,
And, he saw the beacon swallowed,
By the waters dark and gloomy.
All that day, he weakly labored,
Hollowed out a mighty tree trunk:
From a branch he hewed a paddle:
At the close of day he finished.
With the dark, came Wah-wah-taysee.
O'er the troubled waves he followed,
Called the soul of Manahella:
When the sun, with shining armor,
From the great lake came up slowly,
The lost soul of Manahella,
In its arms took Antakaya.[1]

Kaskaskia was now visibly on the decline. It was only sustained by the facilities it offered to trade in the river highways, but here it was greatly handicapped by larger places on the north and south. In 1833 a colony of nine nuns from the Convent of Visitation at Georgetown, D. C., started an academy for girls at Kaskaskia and it bade fair to become a school of importance. This academy was after the flood of 1844 removed to St. Louis where it became of great importance.

In 1844 came the greatest flood of all and Kaskaskia was almost destroyed. Water stood five feet deep in the old hotel building where

1. See the English translation. (Philadelphia, 1829), vol. 1, pp. 136-147. [Ed.]

the high water of 1785 had only reached the floor. The bottom was covered many feet deep. Steamboats sailed from bluff to bluff. Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis, chartered a steamboat and went to Kaskaskia, where the young ladies of the convent were drawn through the second story windows to the boat. On April 20, 1881, the neck of land separating the Kaskaskia and Mississippi rivers was washed away. Three days after the cut off was made steamboats passed through the new channel. Since that time the State of Illinois has moved the bodies in the old grave yard to Chester and the site of the old town has steadily crumbled away.

The story of Kaskaskia is but the story of the germ. It is, is planted, produces the seedling, the stalk. It does not die it but gives up its being to the plant. Older than St. Louis or New Orleans, this mission post, voyageur's rest, garrison town, capital of all the empire between the Alleghenys and Rockies, this district capital, territorial capital, State capital, lives only in history as a place to hang a story on, as a dream for the poet. The river has changed its course; the town has disappeared beneath the waves; the Indians have been destroyed; voyaging and hunting for a living are no longer occupations; the bark canoe has been displaced by the steamboat, which now in its turn gives way to the railroad. Yet, Kaskaskia and her interesting types and people were influences, causes of great events, and the dream is a pleasant one.

PART III.

Contributions to State History.

MORRIS BIRKBECK.

AN APPEAL ON THE QUESTION OF A CONVENTION.

(By Morris Birkbeck.)

FELLOW CITIZENS.—The framers of our social compact, profiting by the experience of all nations, to secure from light and capricious changes those institutions of government, which, on account of their superior importance, are coupled with first principles and embodied in the constitution, did most wisely ordain that a solemn measure of a convention should not be proposed to the people by any authority short of a majority of two-thirds of the general assembly. We are invited to vote on this subject, at the next election, by a very different sort of majority from that intended by the constitution, and framed after a new fashion, which it will be right for us to examine before we give it our countenance. The history of the business appears to be, shortly, this:

Certain members of that body, anxious to introduce a forbidden system amongst us, formed themselves into a junto or caucus soon after the commencement of the session, and offered to other members their votes in favor of any proposition which those members had an interest in carrying, in consideration of their pledging themselves to support the measure of a convention. By the accession of these, their first victims, the caucus became, in fact, the legislature, as, by comprising a majority of both houses, it was capable of carrying every question, that one excepted. Others of your representatives, who had not, as yet, bartered away their independence, soon discovered that they were completely at the mercy of the junto; and, in order to recover the means of serving their constituents on those points of local interest, which, when combined, form the general weal, suffered themselves, one by one, to be brought over, until the faction had acquired nearly two-thirds of the whole number of votes, the strength requisite for carrying their favorite measure—without the accomplishment of which, they declared, they would not quit Vandalia.

They repeatedly tried their strength by preparatory resolutions, and at length, on the fifth of February, brought forward the main question, but it was decided against them by a majority of two. They were not, however, to be so baffled; they carried a vote of re-consideration, and the resolution was laid upon the table.

On the eleventh of February, having gained over the deficient votes by means which it might seem invidious to detail, the resolution was

again brought forward, and *again* lost through the defection of a member, who, on the former occasion, had voted for it. Notwithstanding this second decision, they persevered in their purpose.

One of the party, although in the constitutional minority on the last division, again moved a reconsideration of the question. The speaker declared the motion to be out of order, because the mover was in the minority. They attempted to over-rule the decision of the speaker, by an appeal to the house, but the chair was supported by a majority of three.

Here, it might be supposed, the question was finally decided, and would have been allowed to rest; but it proved otherwise. On the succeeding day *the vote confirming the speaker's decision was reversed*, and the motion for re-consideration, made by one of the minority, *carried*; and to extinguish the vote of the defaulter, and create a favorable one in the room of it, as no such vote could be found in the house, they had recourse to a proceeding the most unjust, and impudently tyrannical, that ever, as I believe, disgraced the legislature of a free country: By an arbitrary resolution, in direct violation of law, they expelled one of your representatives, who had been established in his seat by the decision of the house, and introduced in his room, a man favorable to their views, who had been declared, by the same decision, not to be a representative. Having accomplished this, they brought forward the main question the third time, and *carried it* by the vote of this man, whom they created a member for the express purpose, at the close of the session.

Now, fellow citizens! I ask you how you feel under this sort of legislation? and the reply I seem to hear, from one end of the State to the other, is this: "We have been insulted and abused by a base faction; but, unless it be by the appointment of such men for our representatives, we are not, as yet, degraded. The infamy rests, at present, on the heads of these persons—and there let it remain! If we should give our sanction to their conduct, by voting for a convention, at their instigation—then, indeed, would disgrace cover the country, and to be a citizen of Illinois will be no honorable distinction."

This question having been thus forced upon the people, in defiance of law and constitution, our course, in regard to it, is plain: We must, on the present occasion, vote against a convention, or become accomplices in these nefarious doings. There are, no doubt, various particulars in our institutions which require amendment, as, in the early stages of a government, will naturally be the case. It is new, and has hardly had a fair trial. At a proper season, when our *honest* representatives, after due deliberation, shall, by a constitutional majority, have resolved to propose it to us, let us then have a convention. The defects of the present system are not of a nature so urgent as to forbid a short delay, and we shall be better qualified for a revision of the constitution from longer experience. A change in the county commissioners' courts—the removal of the seat of government, and *annual* sessions of the legislature—are, I believe, the chief amendments talked of. If the objections to the thing, *as now proposed*, had no existence, it would be well for us to count the cost of a

convention, and to consider, if, in the exhausted, and more than exhausted, the insolvent, state of the treasury, it would be discreet to add that expense to our present pecuniary embarrassment. In a few years it is probable we may better afford it; but, just now, the charge of the remedy, I do think, would be felt by the people a greater grievance than all the diseases complained of.

But the disease in the legislature demands our *immediate* attention; for there the interests of the public have been bought and sold in the face of day; the law of elections, and the established rules of legislative proceedings, have been set at nought, in order to thrust this question upon us, Such a scene of base intrigue was never before exhibited under a representative government, as prevailed at Vandalia through the last session.

It cannot be for the interest or the honour of the citizens of Illinois that their affairs should be so conducted. Even if the object were beneficial, and should accord with our wishes, to receive it through so impure a channel, would be unworthy of republicans. When we require a convention, we can have one, according to the constitution, through a sound and respectable legislature. We are not reduced to the humiliation of obtaining it by intrigue and chicanery, or of accepting it from hands which have violated our rights in the legislative assembly, their proper sanctuary! Though nugatory in point of law, as having been illegally and corruptly carried, this measure will become a precedent for similar abuses, if it receive the sanction of the people. Should the mines of Golconda be offered to us on these terms, we should reject the offer with disdain. Such are, or ought to be, our reflections at this important crisis.

Injustice, committed by a private citizen, is bounded in its mischief by the nature of the act, and the perpetrator, being an object of contempt, is not likely to prejudice public morals by the influence of example. Enormities are committed by despots in the wantonness of power, and the people submit until they acquire the means of avenging themselves; but, as they detest the tyrant, and abhor tyranny, their sense of right may not be vitiated by the crimes of their rulers. But when a domineering faction, in a representative government, commits injustice, covering its deeds with the forms of legal enactment, a people, *conscious of these proceedings*, and submitting to them because they may chance to accord with their inclination or supposed interest, bows its neck to the yoke, and is unworthy to rank among republicans;—because, from that time, their government ceases to be a representative government. One faction, having accomplished its purpose, gives place to another, and that to a third—until it sinks into despotism of the meanest character; a tyranny of knaves, without honour or principle, or public spirit! What that is worth preserving can remain alive under such a system?

"The end justifies the means," say these lawless politicians, but it is a villainous plea, and would end in the destruction of our liberties. Would to heaven *that* were all the end they aim at! To it we should soon apply a remedy. Slavery is their avowed object—accursed slavery! Doubly accursed—in those who inflict it, and in its miserable victims! When once introduced, for this, no remedy would be

found. My fellow citizens! for the sake of our posterity—in the name of religion, in the name of virtue—I implore you to act uprightly at the ensuing election: *Let us save our country!* not from the evil of political corruption merely, but from this, the concentration of all the evils which afflict humanity.

It is to you who have expended your labor and capital on permanent improvements, and considered yourselves settled for life in this State, with your families around you—that I have appealed thus earnestly, and I trust not in vain. There are others, and these form a large majority of the advocates of this scheme, who, like birds of passage, belonging to no country in particular, look only to the interest of the moment, and are prepared to vote for a convention as an inlet to slavery, under the notion that it might advance the price of land, and enable them to sell their farms to advantage, and *move off*. And there are persons—as I have heard with sorrow and indignation—whose talents and standing entitle them to consideration, who are availing themselves of this topic, so important to our future well-being, merely as an engine of temporary, party politics.—Supposing (falsely as I believe and hope) that popularity is on the side of slavery, they take that side, and, regardless of its calamitous consequences, they can—just to gain an advantage over rivals, who are supporting the cause of freedom—prostitute their influence to the ruin of their country!—Such, I am told, is the position taken by some of the most prominent and zealous supporters of a convention; and thus, fellow citizens, may our dearest interests be trifled with by disappointed ambition, which, unless it can govern, will not hesitate to destroy!

From a sentiment of clemency or of kindness, I forbear naming either these individuals, or the leaders of the faction in the legislature. I arraign their proceedings at the bar of the public: but my controversy is with the measures, not with the men. This pamphlet, should it be circulated beyond the sphere of our contest, or survive its decision, shall not be the instrument of stamping with ignominy the memory of any of my fellow citizens. There may be extenuating circumstances—infirmity of judgment, deeply-rooted prejudice, human weakness, in short, of various shapes, moral and intellectual, to save from absolute baseness of intention the projectors of enormous mischief. It is enough for us to see the actions in their true character; we will leave the agents to settle the account of motives with their own conscience, and proceed to consider what would be the consequences of their success.

In regard to the price of land, no advantage *could* ensue from the admission of slavery. You might open the market to purchasers from the slave states, but, by so doing, you would exclude all from every state and every country who are averse to slavery. The owners of negroes, who may be inclined to change their abode, have stronger inducements towards the southern states of Alabama, Misssisippi, and Louisiana than to ours. This is confirmed by the experience of Missouri where the price of land is said to be even lower than with us and the difficulty of selling at least equal. The want of money, also, prevails equally in the neighbouring slave states, and is quite sufficient to prevent the sale of their own lands, which is necessary, in

the first place, to enable them to remove at all. It is vain, therefore, to look to that quarter for many buyers; and it would surely be impolitick to confine the market to a class of purchasers who have not the means of purchasing, and if they had the means would not bring them to us, but would carry them farther south.

The exclusion of every other class for the sake of those who have neither the ability nor the inclination to buy, absurd as it would be, is not the only evil: Many more estates would immediately be offered for sale, so as to add to the glut in the market. For numbers, who had, as they hoped, made permanent homes for themselves and their families in this State, would hasten away at the approach of slavery, disposing of their property under every disadvantage; and thus, more sellers than buyers being created by this calamitous and foolish measure, the price of land would fall even below its present rate.

Let us now turn our thoughts to those who would be excluded by slavery, and we shall discover that they are far more numerous than those whom it would invite.

Multitudes of the farming class, and others, in the old countries of Europe, (from whence we all derive our origin) are at this time driven by hard necessity to seek new homes. Their attention is drawn in a particular manner towards this State, as that section of the Union best adapted to their views and habits. It has been represented to them, and they look to it as a land of freedom; but if we make it a land of slaves they will not come here. "No matter" you may reply, "we want no English, or Scotch, or Irish, or Dutch settlers." But remember, they will bring *capital;* the farmers will buy your land, if you are disposed to sell. Those of other classes will establish manufactures and create a market for produce; and in due time they will all become, with their children after them, as you are, American Citizens. A numerous class of purchasers from the eastern states, who are beginning to form a just estimate of the advantages of our prairie country, would also be excluded, as well as the friends of freedom in the slave states, numbers of whom would be likely to settle here if we retain our integrity.

Thus it is clear that the admission of slavery would operate most powerfully against that very interest which is a leading object with a majority of its advocates. It would throw many more farms on the market, and diminish instead of increasing the number of buyers.

But you, who have at heart the future prosperity of the State, as well as the interest of the present hour, let me entreat you to pause, and direct your views a little forward, before you allow temporary motives to bias your judgment towards any measure which may favor the admission of slavery into our republic.

Consider, that however small in number and contemptible in moral or physical power the negroes might be at their first introduction, they would increase in the natural course of population and by the accession of fresh supplies, in a much higher ratio than the whites; so that in a limited period they would become in our republican Illinois, the *many* who are doomed to labor for the *few.*

Between these two classes, under the most despotick governments, excluding slavery, there may and do exist various strong ties of a

political and social nature. They slide into each other by insensible gradations, forming no line of absolute demarkation. They have sundry common interests. They have family connections. Individuals are perpetually changing positions; the high are reduced by extravagance or misfortune; the low advance themselves by industry and enterprise. Therefore these classes are not naturally and of necessity hostile to each other. In peace they are friends, and fellow soldiers in war.

But in a nation composed of *free whites* and *negro slaves*, society, if it may be called such, is in a most deplorable condition. One portion of the people is separated from the other by an impassable barrier, in regard to all that binds man to man in social fellowship. They must not eat together, or pray together! There are no intermarriages. There is no change of position producing a common sympathy. One class possesses—all; the other—nothing. The laws are made by one class and only known to the other by their partial severity. It is not a republic—this; it is a confederacy of tyrants, pure aristocratical despotism!

We may transfer the labors of cultivation to negroes, but there is a toil far more severe than the cultivation of the soil, commencing from the moment of their introduction, from which slavery cannot relieve us—the toil of protecting the morals of our youths from contamination and our persons and property from natural and deadly foes, whom we admit into the heart of our concerns. We can transfer no part of this to the negroes. It will be all our own! It will "grow with their growth and strengthen with their strength" until at length even *their* condition may be enviable in comparison with ours. These are evils we cannot escape or mitigate; an incurable and increasing plague, in exchange for virtue, peace and security, which no accumulation of property can ever compensate.

Consider the actual condition of the older slave states. South Carolina has just escaped a dreadful catastrophe; Virginia a few years ago also escaped. But the fire is still there, though smothered for a time under the ashes of former conflagrations. The sword remains over their heads, suspended by a single hair! Of this they are sensible; witness their painful precautions; the laws against education of slaves; the arms and barricaded dwellings; witness the nightly patroles, pervading the country like an immense camp.—A dreadful inheritance is slavery—even for those who inflict it!

There is no need to expatiate on the evils of slavery; they are too well understood in this country to require description. We all know —its advocates themselves know—that it comprehends every shade of crime, every degree of misery! And shall we, the free citizens of Illinois, hold forth our arms to embrace this monster? Shall we *invite* slavery with its train of crimes and calamities, and leave it a curse to our posterity, for the sake of a little convenience—a little temporary, precarious profit?

If such be the case, as stated above, where slavery has been established as to have become like the natural order of things, here, on its *forced* introduction, our condition would be still more difficult and dangerous.

The slave holders of Illinois, would suffer under the increasing consciousness that their lands were cultivated and their families surrounded, not by free and happy dependents, partaking of the general prosperity, but by degraded creatures, prone to theft and perhaps plotting their destruction. This, they would suffer, in common with others. But the unspeakable abhorrence in which slavery is held by a great proportion of their fellow citizens, who took refuge in this state as an asylum from that calamity, would render it impossible to carry into effect the brutalizing system by which alone these devoted beings are kept down when their numbers become considerable.

Having founded our constitution on the inalienable rights of man, and entered into a compact with each other and with the general government that slavery shall not hereafter be introduced, it will be vain to urge its legality, although a short-sighted majority should obtain its admission. As well might they legalize robbery and murder.

Its introduction would always be felt by a very large part of the community as an invasion of their rights; they would view it as it stalked through the land, with a horror and impatient loathing as they would the intrusion of an armed foe. No laws on the subject could assuage the sense of injury in the minds of those persons, or repress the indignation they would experience on beholding their fellow creatures—bought and sold and trampled upon; no fears, as to consequences, could restrain them from the expression of their sentiments. Hence perpetual animosities and hatred would prevail between neighbours, destroying all social enjoyment, and that fellow feeling among the citizens which is essential to the general happiness and prosperity, would cease forever.

A people, on assuming the exercises of its rights, may discover *wrongs* in its old institutions which it cannot redress without the hazard of still greater; or, the influence of custom, or of avarice, or of ignorance in a portion of the community, may prevent it.

Thus it was with the colonies on their emancipation from Great Britain. Among the institutions of their society there existed a *system of wrong*, which, for some, or all of the causes above assigned, was not redressed. That system was slavery. It was not actually tolerated by the constitution, or meant to be, as no exception in its favor appears. The evil was suffered to exist, *because it could not be destroyed.*

Under the sacred transcript of universal rights on which the people of the United States founded their constitution, if it had not preexisted in the community, it could not have been introduced; they could not have *created* slavery; nor can the people of Illinois *create* it for the same reason.

It is, moreover, expressly prohibited in this State, not only by our own compact above alluded to, but by the ordinance of Congress providing against its introduction into the North Western Territory or the states formed therefrom; which ordinance is the supreme law of the land, according to article 6 of the constitution of the United States which is as follows:

"*This constitution and laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be*

made under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary nothwithstanding"

Those who settled in Illinois, before it became a State, received a pledge from the Congress of the United States, in the ordinance of 1787, that slavery could not be introduced. When the constitution, in conformity with the ordinance, was accepted on that condition, others, in great numbers, repaired to this as a free State, and established themselves in it with entire confidence. They had selected for their abode, a country free, as they thought, from the pollution of slavery and by its constitution ever to remain so.

With this calamity, under which their existence would be a burthen, they are now threatened, and the mere apprehension throws a gloom over their prospects. What can the advocates of slavery gain by its introduction, to put in competition with the evil and injustice they would inflict upon these, their fellow citizens?

And is there, then, nothing fixed, nothing secure, in the foundation of our social compact? The blessings promised by a free constitution, can they be taken from us and the greatest of curses given in their room, because pur-blind avarice may have gained a temporary ascendancy? Were it an affair of interest merely, how opposite soever to my judgment, it might take its course. Having stated my opinion I could submit in tranquility. But there are principles too sacred to be infringed even by a majority, on the plea of interest, or on any plea; and this is such a principle. To *alter* and *amend* the provisions of the constitution, is and ought to be the work of the majority, but not to *destroy* it.

We are a society of free men: Our fundamental laws know no such being as a slave. In this State, every inhabitant is *free by right*, derived from a power paramount to all majorities. Freedom is the basis of our social compact; a majority can regulate the institutions founded on this basis, but the basis itself is impregnable. Necessity, "the tyrant's plea," in those states where slavery is established, supports the distinction of freeman and slave, a distinction abhorrent to reason, to religion, and to nature! Here we have no such plea, and our constitution admits no such distinction. If a majority have the power of affixing the brand of slavery on one portion of the community, where is the limit of this power? What portion is safe? What security remains for you or for me, if we chance to be in the minority?

I trust, fellow citizens, I am not mistaken in my estimate of your general good sense and honorable feeling. But if those persons whose proceedings in the legislature have caused this alarm, are, in fact, a representation of the majority, the friends of freedom have yet a strong hold in the vast majority of the people of the United States, of which we form a comparatively insignificant portion. To this great and enlightened community we have our final appeal; and if, to the indelible disgrace of this government, such an appeal should be necessary, it *must be effectual*. In addressing you, I speak as a citizen of this particular section, confining my view to our own proper

duty as regards this question. We are also citizens of the United States, and, in that capacity, have our share in the compact between Congress and this State, at its admission. I refrain from discussing the validity of that instrument, in regard to both the contracting parties, not from the smallest doubt on the subject, but because it is for us to do our own business, and render a recourse to it unnecessary.

The annals of the republick afford no precedent of a people degrading themselves by reverting to slavery; a system which is the abhorrence of the civilized world, and acknowledged, by all, to be the bane of national prosperity and private happiness. In other states, the changes which have taken place have been on the side of freedom. And shall we, young as we are, cause the only blot, the only blurred page in the history of the Union?

Take a view of the states which have emancipated themselves, and compare them with the slave states: Look at the state of Ohio, and compare it with Kentucky. Here are experiments on a large scale for our instruction, so uniformly decisive against slavery, that, if it were an affair of simple calculation, a question of political arithmetick merely, common sense would teach us to reject it.

How the man of small property fares in a slave state I cannot describe from personal observation, but I have learned so much on the subject from those who have experienced it, that I presume no poor man of sound judgment and independent spirit *can* desire the introduction of slavery. To labour for his living among slaves, or to labour at all where the idea of slavery is so blended with labour as to communicate to it something of disgrace, would be a sad exchange to a very large portion of the citizens of this State, where labour is, as it ought to be, in high and honourable estimation, and the sure road to independence. I have heard that the condition of the poorer description of citizens in slave states is truly miserable: they are compelled to undergo much painful and degrading service in keeping down the slaves, for their wealthy neighbors, who form a sort of upper class—a set of lordly personages, who assume considerable state, and look down upon the industrious man who earns his living by the sweat of his brow.—And a poor living it is that can be earned in a slave country:—for, although it is demonstrable that slave labour is dearer, all things considered, than the labour of freemen, yet, where the former prevails, the latter is not in request:—so that, unless in the pitiful office of overseer or negro driver, the free labourer has not much chance of employment. Fellow citizens! you will reflect seriously on these things, and vote accordingly.

Let us now compare the actual wealth of a free state with that of a slave state, containing the same number of inhabitants, and possessing equal capital. Suppose the number to be 200,000, and half the population of the latter to be slaves. One hundred thousand negroes would be the first line of the account of national wealth with the advocate of slavery. His opponent would reply, that, as the wealth of a nation consists chiefly in the skill, strength, and industry of its productive population, the value of those individuals is not increased by their being slaves;—that the wealth of the state receives no addition in consequence of the productive class being held as the property

of the unproductive. But, admitting them to be property, he would allege, that one hundred thousand of the citizens in the free state, *the property of themselves*, are to be considered as wealth to the community, equal to the number of negroes in the slave state; and being more industrious and efficient as labourers, would place the balance greatly in favour of the free state.

Suppose the capital in each to be forty millions of dollars, it would consist, in the slave state, of a population of 100,000 Negroes, of all ages, at $200.00 per head	$20,000,000
Other property	20,000,000
	$40,000,000
In the free state it would consist of the property of 200,000 free persons	$40,000,000
100,000 free persons valued at the same rate with 100,000 negroes	20,000,000
Extra value of the labour of a free population compared with a population of masters and slaves	*10,000,000
	$70,000,000

Thus it appears that, with equal capital and population, a free state is nearly twice as wealthy as a slave state.—But, in the materials of happiness—in moral riches—in the spirit pervading the community how great is the contrast!

In the land of slaves there is despotic power, engendering pride and cruelty, fomented by avarice:—There is contempt of labour, encouraging indolence and its companions, dissipation and profligacy, on the one hand; on the other there is brutal ignorance:—human forms, stripped of all that is estimable in human character: or, if aught remains of the nobility of man, it is that incurable hatred; that obstinacy not to be conquered by torture, and that thirst of vengeance, —which assume the place of virtue in the bosom of a slave, and convert him into a demon.

In the free state, the vices inseparable from tyranny are unknown or strangled at their birth; the meanness, or the malignity, produced by oppression, have no place there. There man holds his proper station; he looks up to no superior but in virtue and knowledge—and down upon no abject dependent.

The contrast does not end here: Moral degradation has its reaction, and is not confined to the degraded class. The vices of the slave have the counterpart in those of the master. The female slaves, sunk below the restraints of moral decorum, and their honour deemed beneath the cognizance of law, become a nursery of vice in every family, and a general dissoluteness of morals is the consequence.—On the part of the whites this horror is superadded: they consign the fruits of their licentiousness to the miseries of perpetual bondage, and their own flesh becomes the object of unnatural and unhallowed traffick!

At what degree, on the scale of turpitude, shall we place the man who, knowing these things, can be induced by sordid interest, to place himself and his posterity, his neighbors and his country, in

*The difference would be much greater; because the labour of the white population, in a slave state is of little account: Free labour retires from slavery as silver from a base currency. The overseers and the multitude of domestic slaves are also to be deducted; and where negroes are numerous, it is labour enough for the whites to watch them.

such a predicament? and, if a vote should carry the question, every man who holds up his hand in favor of a convention that should introduce it, may hereafter consider himself as the author of all the miseries and the crimes with which slavery would cover this fair portion of the globe. If it fails, as I trust will be the case, he will then have to reproach himself with having been a partaker in the iniquity of the design.

The evils, moral and political, with which our fellow citizens of the slave states are afflicted, are not, let us ever bear in mind, of their own creation. They were entailed upon them by the ignorance or avarice of their predecessors, and permitted by the impolicy of the British government, which departed from its own principles in its colonial legislation. We now stand, in regard to the state of Illinois, in the place of those early settlers of the old states from which the curse of slavery has been handed down to posterity, and of that government which countenanced its establishment. But there is a difference between our position and theirs—in our favor, if we act justly, and to our accumulated disgrace, if otherwise. A century of bitter experience has exposed the abominations of the practice to the whole world; and we cannot now, as they might, avail ourselves of the plea of ignorance. In the present day, where is the man who will stand up in defence of the principle of slavery? Inured to it by education and habit, chained to their slaves as their slaves are chained to them, there are many truly respectable persons who yield to it as a matter of necessity, from which they see no way of escape, and they act as well as they can in their circumstances. Under the shelter of their example, others who are not of that character are laboring to spread the evil—and they merit the execration of all mankind for the attempt, whether they succeed or not.

The happiness of the slave, whose good fortune has given him a benevolent master, is brought forward in triumphant comparison—not with the *happiness* of the freeman—but with his sufferings under the scourge of adversity; and we are to admit, from this partial and false view of the subject, that slavery is preferable to freedom! The man whose heart remains uncorrupted by the possession of absolute power, is an honor to his kind. A society of such men would have little need of the restraints of law and government. But how rare is the virtue that is proof against circumstances so predisposing and impelling to vice! It raises its possessor greatly above the average of his fellows. Happy the slave, if slave he must be, who falls into such hands. Man is, however, at best, a frail creature, subject to caprice, and liable to error and imposition, and therefore not to be trusted so far. He is, moreover, mortal and has not the means of transmitting his virtues, together with his slaves, to his descendants. How must the hand of the good man tremble, and his heart sink within him, when, at the close of his life, he is about to commit to the power of a son, the reverse of himself, those defenceless beings whom he has soothed by his kindness into a forgetfulness of their bondage! Thus is slavery a thing to be rejected even in its mildest character.

Persons who do not defend the principle of slavery, have stated in defence of its extension into new countries, that diffusion of the black population is a mitigation of the evil. Without examining this argument, I shall merely observe, that, whatever may be the value, it does not apply to our case: it is *not* the motive which operates on the advocates for slavery in this state, and suppose it were the motive, as they have no right to serve others at our expense, it cannot be admitted as an apology for the outrage they would inflict on their fellow citizens. In the next place, if we admit that diffusion might, in a supposed case of crowded population, lessen the immediate pressure, that case has not yet been made out. Where slaves are more numerous, I believe they are also at the highest price, and are not, therefore, likely to be transferred to a country where they are of less value. In the third place, the new states to the south, with the addition of Missouri, besides immense tracts of uncultivated lands in Georgia, Kentucky, &c., afford ample scope for the *diffusion* of slavery, without breaking faith with the United States and the friends of freedom in Illinois, by admitting it here. Therefore the argument, such as it is, has no relation to us. Yet, if the scheme of these benevolent diffusers of slavery included a plan for its gradual but certain and effectual abolition, their proposals would deserve attention. Their plan, on the contrary, tends to its indefinite continuance, as well as extension. In the licentiousness of assertion, which seems to be indulged on this subject beyond most others, as is natural where there is no basis for sound argument; it is added by reasoners, who ought to blush at the absurdity, that, *whilst diffusion mitigates the misery of slaves, it does not add to their number.* Are there fewer slaves in the five old slave-holding states than existed previous to the settlement of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Missouri? Was Europe, or even Africa, drained of inhabitants by peopling America? Those provinces of Spain which contributed most to the settlement of South America, increased in population beyond the rest of the kingdom. Has not the extension or *diffusion* of the general population, from thirteen states to twenty-four, increased the number of people in this republic? It is a fact established by experience that vacancies made by emigration are filled up by the stimulus of a more favorable proportion between the means of subsistence and the number of inhabitants; and whilst a population is created in a new country, the old country is relieved—and the effect of this relief, in giving a spring to population, is even greater than its numerical amount; so that the parent state becomes more populous by disseminating her offspring. Slave population increases according to the the same law: if diffusion mitigates their sufferings, it increases their number, and the room they leave behind them is soon filled up, as in other cases.

But such is the criminality of slavery, and so completely has that criminality been exposed, that it seems to me to be incumbent on all man-kind who are blessed with freedom, to protest against the ordinances of the government which tolerates it, without providing for its abolition, and to make common cause in favor of their degraded brethren in every country. The principles of universal justice are

clear, and the duty of resistance to oppression, engraven on every heart, is inseparable from the duty of aiding the weak who are unable to protect themselves. This would better merit the appellation of a *Holy Alliance* than a combination of sovereigns in support of Legitimacy. The very principle is now in operation, in regard to the African slave trade. Little more than twenty years ago, that commerce was sanctioned by the British government. Fifteen years have hardly elapsed since it was tolerated by the United States. It is now condemned as piracy by both these governments, and they have invited other nations to join them in the employment of force for its extirpation. The trade in slaves, in the interior of the United States, (in art. 1, sect. 9, of the constitution, veiled under the term "Migration,") was, together with the African slave trade, guaranteed against prohibition until the year 1808. The latter has been abolished and declared a capital offense; and if the principle and practice of the former were examined, they would be found to differ, not at all in kind, and but little in enormity. The time surely approaches when the virtue and intelligence, diffused through this republick, will no longer sustain the inconsistency of tolerating the American slave trade, and punishing the African as felony! I crave your indulgence for this digression, and shall now draw to a conclusion.

What think you, fellow citizens, is the compensation proposed by the persons who have, at the expense of reputation and integrity, made those extraordinary efforts for the admission of slavery? We have seen that it cannot favour the sale of land, but will have a contrary effect. We know that the pecuniary distress of the neighbouring slave states is greater than ours. Produce is so low as hardly to pay the charges of carrying it to market. The demand of the old countries, in their present condition, is not equal to the superabundance of the new; and forcing cultivation, in the new countries, by the labour of slaves, is not likely to mend the matter. The natural and easy remedy for this inconvenience, (to call it an evil would be ingratitude) is, to create a market at home, by applying ourselves to manufacture. But slavery would increase the *embarrassment*, and *obstruct the operation of the remedy*. To what motives, then, can their zeal be imputed, except the love of arbitrary power, and aversion to industry—and, with a few ambitious characters, political rivalship?

The following positions have, I think, been fully established: That a convention, held in pursuance of the measures described, would be unconstitutional and illegal, and therefore of no just authority:—because it has not been proposed to the people by a constitutional majority of their representatives, but was, on the contrary, twice negatived by such a majority:

That the admission of slavery would increase our present difficulties, by lowering the price of land and produce—and would be destructive of the future prosperity of the state, and happiness of the people, especially of that very numerous class of citizens who are possessed of but small property, and whose wealth consists in their industry:

That it cannot be introduced but by breaking down the barriers of law and justice—which are, I trust, on too firm a basis to be disturbed

by the intrigues of a corrupt faction. You will therefore agree with me—that we are bound by honour, interest, and duty, to vote, at the approaching election, for *No Convention.*

I was just laying down my pen, when I recollected a strange sentiment entertained by some persons, who, having been brought up among slaves, have not reflected much on the nature of true liberty—that we are not free, because our constitution prohibits slavery—that this county, governed by laws of our own making, where every man, unless he be a criminal, is as free as another, is not a free country—in fine, that the State of Illinois is not a free state, because we have decreed that none but free men shall inhabit it. According to their opinion, if part of the people held the other part in bondage, could buy and sell them, and goad them to labor like cattle, *then* it would be a free country. But freedom, if it exists in reality, extends to all—it is the right to do every thing but injury, and the enjoyment of protection from being injured. Without this restraint, on the one hand, and the protection on the other, liberty is an empty sound. Difference of color makes no difference in the nature of oppression, or in the crime of inflicting it; and that only is a free country where every man in it is protected from oppression.

In this happy and most honourable condition, of equal freedom and protection, we, the citizens of Illinois, now stand. It is the first rank of human society—the last and meanest is that of *master and slave*, to which the transactions of an unconstitutional majority are intended to degrade us. For myself I submit to no such humiliation. To me and mine the entrance of slavery would be the signal of departure, and to many others. It would be a sentence of banishment to us, of exclusion to countless thousands, and, to those who remain, of irretrievable debasement.

To ward off this most calamitous result, I confide, fellow citizens, in your integrity and good sense; for I think you will, on considering the subject, join me in opinion that the principles of justice and humanity, in this case as in all others, are the principles of wisdom—and that cold-hearted, selfish politicians are the greatest fools upon earth.

M. Birkbeck.

Postscript.

At sun-rise on this Fourth of July, 1823, when the prairies and the woods are resounding with peals of triumph, I address the following serious expostulation to the attention of my fellow citizens, as my part in the service of this festive day.

The practice of slavery, by a people exulting in their own freedom, is a melancholy instance of human depravity or inconsistency, and shows how we may become reconciled, by custom, to the perpetration of the greatest injustice.

The right to hold a man or a woman in bondage can only arise from forfeiture of liberty by the individual so held; but it is impossible that this forfeiture can extend to their posterity. For example, should slavery, by the will of the majority, be introduced among us

we could only put it in practice, justly, upon the persons of criminals, who had so forfeited their freedom, under the laws of that society from which we procured them, and of this fact we must obtain irrefragable testimony.

Supposing any number of these wretched outcasts, of both sexes, to be received by us and employed on our plantations, what sort of claim could we set up against their children? Could the united votes of all the citizens in the State consign a single infant to bondage because its parents had committed crimes and suffered the penalty? The child born of these parents would have the same natural rights with our own children; the same indefeasible inheritance from nature "of life, of liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and would have an additional title to kindness and protection from the unfortunate circumstances of his birth. What would be the course of justice in regard to such children? Their parents having no political rights, they would be received as orphans into the arms of a virtuous and honorable society; they would be the children of the public, and be treated with that tenderness to which the orphan has an irresistible claim from every human being with a heart uncorrupted.

No,—fellow citizens! – all the power of the community, directed to this single point, could not extend the right of slavery beyond the individual who has forfeited his freedom by crime. With the condition of those societies where slavery has taken root we have here no concern. It has no legal existence here. A set of men called legislators, in this state or any other, have no power to give one man a title to the liberty of another, any more than to his life; or to doom infants to servitude, whatever may have been the crimes or complexion of their parents, any more than they have power to order them to be strangled at their birth; which, in fact, would be, of the two, the least criminal proceeding.

Slavery, as offered to us, is a bottomless abyss of wretchedness and iniquity; the inquisition is a mere puddle compared to it! Could you, whilst hovering on the brink, behold it in its horrors, no power on earth could compel you to take the plunge—there would be no need of arguments to restrain you. But they crowd upon me as I meditate on the subject and before I conclude I must add the following for your consideration:

The extent of surface at present occupied by the republick, under the organized jurisdiction of states and territories is a little more than one million of square miles. It appears that slavery is tolerated over 650,000 square miles and prohibited over 402,000—thus, the extent of territory open to slaves is greater, by about one-fourth of the whole, than that from which they are excluded!

It also appears, from the census of 1820, that there were at that time 5,175,080 inhabitants on the *non-slaveholding territory* and only 4,394,963 inhabitants, *including slaves*, on the *slaveholding* territory, though so much more extensive!

Yet under these circumstances, there are persons who speak of *cruelty in penning up the negroes;* and propose, with the humane

view of giving them still more room, to surrender this State to their accommodation; feeling no compunction about *penning* up their white brethren of the non-slaveholding states, who form a majority of free inhabitants of the union, as five to three; and are already excluded from more than three-fifths of our common country, unless they will defile themselves with slavery, or become sufferers under its degrading influence!

It is ascertained that the black population increases faster than the white in slave states. The necessary consequence of this is that negroes will be the majority in number on that portion of the United States which tolerates slavery, at a period not very remote. Rigorous treatment, augumenting in severity as their numbers increase, may for a time keep them in subjection: but this cruel system has its limits. Superiority in physical power they will acquire:—superiority in intellectual force will sooner or later follow.—When that time arrives they will destroy or expel the white inhabitants and remain the sole possessors of these countries. This process has had a successful beginning on the isle of St. Domingo. That the other West India Islands will soon follow the example, I presume no one doubts who is acquainted with the subject. I leave it to the advocates of slavery to pursue the painful speculation to the continent of America.

It is also ascertained that the population in slave states does not increase so fast as the white population in free states, by from thirty to forty per cent in twenty years.—And that the population of a slave state, bond and free, does not increase so fast as the population of a free state. Therefore, slavery not only diminishes the number of free persons by occupying their places, but it retards population *generally*. Of this, New York and Pennsylvania, compared with Virginia, afford a striking proof: —as also Ohio compared with Kentucky, and Indiana with Missouri. The difference in these last is very interesting to us.

In 1800 Kentucky, 39,000 square miles, contained	220,959	Inhabitants
In 1810 " " " " "	406,511	black and
In 1820 " " " " "	564,317	white.
In 1800 Ohio, 39,000 square miles, contained	55,356	free
In 1810 " " " " "	230,769	Inhabitants
In 1820 " " " " "	581,434	
In 1810 Missouri, 80,000 square miles, contained	20,845	Inhabitants
In 1820 " " " " "	66,586	black and white.
In 1810 Indiana, 36,250 square miles, contained	24,520	free
In 1820 " " " " "	147,178	inhabitants

In regard to *emigration*, we should probably exclude *ten* by slavery for *one* that it would bring in.

If we expect *money* we must not look to the slaveholders, for they will bring only negroes: whereas emigrants from the east or from Europe all bring money, more or less.

If we wish to sell *land* the difference is still in favor of a free emigration. The slave owner will purchase from congress; eastern or European emigrants are more likely to buy improvements.

Produce would be lowered in price by the introduction of slavery; because slaveholders with their negroes are all producers. Other emigrants will be partly consumers who by introducing manufactures and dollars to be expended in labour, will create a home market for produce and increase the price.

So that in every view in which we can place it, independent of moral considerations, slavery would be against our interest. But, if all the arguments of a temporary and inferior interest were as much on the side of slavery as they are opposed to it, what are they in comparison with the miseries and abominations which are its inseparable companions?

M. Birkbeck.

A CONTRIBUTION TOWARD A BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF

MORRIS BIRKBECK

AND THE

English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois, Founded by Morris Birkbeck and George Flower, 1817-18.

By CHARLES WESLEY SMITH.

OLD COLONY HOUSE AT ALBION, ILLINOIS.

INTRODUCTION.

At the suggestion of Professor Evarts B. Greene, of the University of Illinois, the writer began, during the spring of 1905, an examination of material relating to Morris Birkbeck and the founding of the English settlement in Edwards county. The present trial bibliography is a result of this search. It is by no means exhaustive, but it is hoped that its appearance at this time may serve to bring to light additional information and thus hasten the accumulation of material for a complete bibliography.

Morris Birkbeck exerted an influence in the development of the American nation not likely to be overestimated. As author-emigrant, he attracted to the United States, and particularly to Illinois, a large number of especially desirable English settlers. That Birkbeck settled in Illinois was the result of no accident. His hatred of slavery in any form caused him to avoid the slave states and it was his thorough knowledge of agriculture, combined with a keen judgment of values, that led him westward to the prairies. Having once decided upon a point for settlement, his ever active pen, by means of published accounts and personal letters, drew to him many substantial English farmers. In this way he hastened and to some extent guided the course of westward migration.

As an anti-slavery agitator, he rendered a service equalled by few men of his time. Illinois had been admitted to the Union in 1818 as a free state, but the right to hold slaves within her bounds was urgently demanded. Large numbers of immigrants were coming in from the south and the strongest efforts were made during the first years of her statehood to turn Illinois into a slave state. The struggle took the form of a controversy over the question of a convention to amend the State Constitution. As an anti-conventionist, Mr. Birkbeck's power was felt and recognized throughout the state. He took a leading part in the newspaper debates and whether in the homely dispassionate logic of the "Jonathan Freeman" letters or in direct, forceful appeals over his own signature, he was ever earnest and convincing. The English settlers were generally opposed to the convention, so that Birkbeck's service as colonizer, no less than his skill as agitator, was an important factor in this critical campaign. The election of August 2, 1824, resulted in a victory for the anti-convention party and Illinois remained a free state. Without Illinois as a free state one would hardly wish to conjecture on the outcome of later developments which eventually led to the war for the preservation of the Union.

An examination of printed sources of information shows a meager and inadequate literature relating to the life and anti-slavery service of this remarkable man. Of Birkbeck's own writings, his published books, though becoming comparatively rare, are nevertheless readily available to students who can combine the resources of several of the larger libraries. Unfortunately, so much cannot be said of the pamphlets and newspaper articles. Several of the pamphlets seem to be entirely lost, though there is reason to hope that they may yet be found. Much of the contemporaneous newspaper material, however, seems to be hopelessly lost. The periodical in which appeared Birkbeck's principal contributions, including the "Jonathan Freeman" Letters, was the Shawneetown Gazette, the issues of which are practically all lost or destroyed. Files of the Edwardsville Spectator, covering more or less completely the years 1819-25, are available in the library of the Chicago Historical Society and in the St. Louis Mercantile Library—the files in the later library being the more complete and in an excellent state of preservation. In this newspaper, fortunately, can be found, besides a limited amount of original material, copies of articles and letters first printed elsewhere. Ten of the famous "Freeman" letters were thus copied from the Shawneetown Gazette. Birkbeck's writings combined with a wide current interest in the subject of emigration, caused many travelers to visit the English settlement, and numerous published accounts were the result. These descriptions, combined with English and American reviews of the same, give a good idea of the way in which Birkbeck and his Illinois settlement were regarded by contemporaries.

In spite of several disastrous fires,[1] the Chicago Historical Society has in its possession some rare and interesting material, including an engraving of Morris Birkbeck, portraits of Mr. and Mrs. George Flower, and valuable letters and other manuscripts bearing upon the history of the English settlement.

The writer is under special obligation to Professor Greene, of the University of Illinois, at whose suggestion the work was undertaken. Grateful acknowledgement for valued assistance in the collection of material is due to Miss Caroline M. McIlvaine, the efficient librarian of the Chicago Historical Society, and to Mr. William L. R. Gifford, the librarian of the St. Louis Mercantile Library. I shall be grateful also to anyone who will call my attention to inaccuracies, or who will send additional information. Such contributions may be sent to me in care of the Library of the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, or they may be addressed to the Department of History, University of Illinois.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

Waverly, N. Y., July 25, 1905.

1. The manuscript copy of George Flower's then unpublished History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, together with other valuable Birkbeck material, had been loaned out of the city just before the great fire of 1871.

WRITINGS OF MORRIS BIRKBECK.

1814—Notes on a Journey Through France, from Dieppe through Paris and Lyons, to the Pyrenees, and back through Toulouse, in July, August and September, 1814, describing the habits of the people, and the agriculture of the country. [Edition 1.] 115 p. 8°. London, 1814. W. Phillips. 4s., boards. (Copy in British Museum.)

Same. Edition 3. 8°. London, 1815. (Copy in British Museum.)

Same. First American from the third London edition with an appendix. 143+28p. 12°. Philadelphia, 1815. Carey. (Copy examined in the St. Louis Mercantile Library.)

Same. Edition 5. 115+23 p. apx. London, 1815. W. Phillips. (Copy examined in the Mason collection, Champaign, Ill., Public Library.)

Reviews.

For reviews of Notes on a Journey Through France, see the following:

Monthly Review, January, 1815, (Poole) 76:59–66.

"Mr. Birkbeck is a tourist of no common sort. . . . We recognize in him the true statistical and agricultural observer. . . . He appears to us to have been very diligent and fortunate in his inquiries."

Monthly Review, April, 1815, (Poole) 76:445–47.

Reviews favorably the appendix to the second edition. This appendix would seem to have been issued separately as a 23 p. pamphlet published by Arch & Co., 1815.

1817—Notes on a Journey in America, from the coast of Virginia to the Territory of Illinois, with proposals for the establishment of a colony of English. [First American edition.] 189 p. 12°. Philadelphia, 1817. Caleb Richardson. (Copies examined in Newberry Library of Chicago and Buffalo Public Library.)

Same. [First London edition.] 144 p., map. 12°. London, 1818. Ridgway. (Copy in the Library of Congress.)

Same. Second London edition. 163 p., fold. map. 8°. London, 1818. Ridgway. [With his Notes on a Journey Through France.] (Copy in Library of Congress.)

Same. Third London edition. 103 p., fold. map. 8°. London, 1818. Ridgway. (Copies examined in University of Illinois Library and in the Mason collection, Champaign, Ill., Public Library.)

Same. Fourth London edition. 156 p., map. London, 1818. Ridgway. (Copy examined in St. Louis Mercantile Library.)

Same. Fifth London edition. 8°. 1819. (Copy in British Museum.)

Same. Dublin edition. 158 p., fold. map. 12°. Dublin, 1818. Larkin. (Copy in Library of Congress. Also, copy in Illinois State Historical Library.)

The Notes on a Journey in America was also published in Cork, 1818, and in 1819 was translated and published in Paris under the title of "Lettres Sur les Nouveaux Etablissemens qui se forment dans les parties occidental des Etats-Unis Amérique." (See Flower–History of the English settlement in Edwards county, p. 92, note.)

Reviews.

For contemporaneous reviews of Notes on Journey in America, see

Edinburgh Review, June, 1818, 30:120–40.

"One of the most interesting and instructive books that have appeared for many years. . . . The author is an eye witness of everything he describes. . . . He is content to tell what is material without tedious dissertations. . . . His matter is condensed and his style is unexceptionable." p. 120.

Monthly Review, February, 1818, 85:146–64.

"Though the present work professes to be only a rapid outline of the most striking features of the country, we believe that Mr. B's. pages convey a more correct idea of its natural resources, and its present state of cultivation, than we can elsewhere obtain. . . . The style is in some parts careless, and in all less polished than in the 'Notes on a Tour Through France,' the work being evidently written in haste, during his journey." p. 163.

Portfolio (Dennies'), March, 1818, (Poole) 19:206–215.

The style of this book is uniformly neat and perspicuous. We are convinced that the author is a man of practical knowledge and that his statements may be received with perfect confidence." p. 215.

Portfolio (Dennies'), July, 1819, (Poole) 22:77.

Quotes from a conclusion of a review of Birkbeck's notes in "The Scotsman," which it says is in the true Tewkesbury style. "Mr. Birkbeck says little of public affairs, but it is quite obvious that the Americans are far behind the more enlightened nations of Europe in their ideas of legislation and government."

Quarterly Review, April, 1818, 19:54–78.

The writer of this review takes a very unfavorable view of American settlement. The book is regarded as an advertisement and Birkbeck and his project are held up to ridicule.

For a recent note of evaluation see

Larned, J. N. ed. The Literature of American History. p. 173.

"This is a brief and intelligent account of the journey of an English farmer traveling from Virginia to Illinois Territory, then a frontier settlement. Birkbeck was a radical both in politics and religion and his judgments show a slight bias. He had a keen eye for a suitable place for future settlement and, in agricultural matters, showed practical knowledge. The book gives a vivid picture of the difficulties attending pioneer settlement." From an annotation by D. R. Dewey.

1818—Letters from Illinois . . . illustrated by a map of the United States showing Mr. Birkbeck's journey from Norfolk to Illinois and a map of English Prairie and the adjacent country by John Mellish. [Edition 1] 154 p. Philadelphia, 1818 Carey. (Title page bears the motto, "Vox clamantis è deserto." Copies examined in the Mason collection, Champaign, Ill., Public Library, and in the St. Louis Mercantile Library.) (Copy in Illinois State Historical Library.)

Same. [Second London edition.] 15+114 p. 8°. London, 1818. Taylor and Hessey. (Copy examined in University of Illinois Library.) (Copy in Illinois State Historical Library.)

Same. Edition 3. 15+114 p. 8°. London, 1818. Taylor and Hessey. [With McLeod, J. Voyage of His Majesty's Ship Alceste. . . . London, 1818.] (Copy in Library of Congress)

Same. 17+126 p. 24°. Boston, 1818. Wells and Lilly. (Copy in Library of Congress.)

Reviews.

For contemporaneous reviews of Letters from Illinois, see the following:

Johnson, Dr. C. B. Letters from the British settlement in Pennsylvania, 1819, p. 128–47.

The English settlement in Illinois is compared to the one at Montrose, Pa., to the disadvantage of the former. Fears are expressed as to the healthfulness of the settlement and Mr. Birkbeck's aversion to religion is deplored. On pages 144–47 is a "Notice of Mr. Birkbeck's Letters" taken "from the Village Recorder of 18th November, 1818."

Niles Register, 1818, 15:102–3.

Favorably reviewed. "Written by an honest and intelligent gentleman and an Englishman to boot."

North American Review, March, 1819, 8:347–71.

"Has considerable literary merit. . . . He is a shrewd observer, and writes with great ease and vivacity. As to the correctness of the accounts, we will not say that the remark which has been made upon the book, that it is a 'mere advertising puff,' is altogether just, but then it is certainly true that Mr. Birkbeck writes very much like an advocate." p. 347–48.

Portfolio (Dennies'), January, 1819. (Poole) 21:72.

A mere allusion to the Letters and to their publication in London.

Quarterly Review, April, 1818, 19:73–78.

A scathing criticism. The Letters are termed "suppositious epistles" and "dullness" is mentioned as the chief characteristic of the book. "There is nothing in them that can excite the least degree of interest, except, perhaps, in those unfortunate persons whom he may succeed in seducing from the land of their fathers, in order to dispose of that property, which, with all its cheapness, is evidently a dead weight upon his hands."

For a recent note of evaluation, see

Larned, J. N. ed. The Literature of American History, p. 173.

"An intelligent, discriminating statement by a foreigner who soon came to understand his adopted country, and did much to inspire English emigration into Illinois." From an annotation by R. G. Thwaites.

Letter to Nathaniel Pope, dated Princeton, Jan. 16, 1818.

Through Mr. Pope, delegate for Illinois Territory in Congress, Morris Birkbeck had memorialized Congress over date of Nov. 20, 1817, for the pre-emption of a tract of land lying some twenty miles north of Wanborough for the purpose of introducing a colony of English farmers. Mr. Pope stated in reply that the petition was too vague for definite action. The letter above referred to explains that extension of payment and not reduction of price was solicited and that the size of tract desired was from 20,000 to 40,000 acres at the pleasure of Congress. The originals of both Mr. Pope's and Mr. Birkbeck's letters are on file in the library of the Chicago Historical Society and copies of both are to be found in Flower's History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, p. 81–83. For Birkbeck's Memorial to Congress, see his Letters from Illinois, Ed. 2, Letter XXII, p. 108–09.

1819—Extracts from a supplementary letter from the Illinois, dated Jan. 31st, 1819; Address to British emigrants arriving in the eastern ports, July 13th, 1819; Reply to William Cobbett, Esq., July 31, 1819. 29 p. 8°. New York, 1819. C. Wiley & Co. (Copy examined in the Mason collection, Champaign, Ill., Public Library.)

Eight blank leaves (sixteen pages) are bound in at the end of the volume, apparently for the use of emigrants in making notes or memoranda.

Same. 36 p. 8°. London, 1819. Ridgway. [Bound with Notes on a Journey Through France, 3rd edition.] (Copy in the library of the Chicago Historical Society.)

This copy contains also the eight blank leaves at the end and contains an "Extract from a letter to a friend in Yorkshire." An experiment made by the librarian upon the ink has proven that this letter is not a *fac simile* as had previously been supposed, but is more likely an annotation made by the owner of the book—possibly an emigrant. In this interesting volume is inserted also a long sheet of old water-marked paper on which are memoranda forming a rough index to Notes on a Journey in America. (Copy of this edition, bound alone (without Notes on a Journey Through France), in Illinois State Historical Library.)

1820—Letter to Henry S. Dodge. Esq., Secretary of the Agricultural Society, dated Wanborough, April 20, 1820, enclosing an address which Mr. B. was unable to give at the meeting of the Agricultural Society owing to absence. See Edwardsville, Ill., Spectator, June 6, 1820. Two columns.

Letter to Hon. John Reynolds, dated Wanborough, Edwards county, Oct. 22, 1820. See copy in Edwardsville, Ill., Spectator, Nov. 28, 1820. In regard to drainage as a means of increasing the healthfulness of the country.

1821—Letter dated Wanborough, May 7, 1821.

For extract of this letter see Flower's Letters from Lexington and the Illinois, in Thwaites, R. G. ed., Early Western Travels, 10: 149–51.

1822—An address to the farmers of Great Britain, with an essay on the prairies of the western country; to which is annexed the constitution of the State of Illinois. 52 p. 8°. London, 1822. Ridgway. 1s. 6d. (Copy in British Museum; also, copy in Illinois State Historical Library.)

For contemporaneous review of An Address to the Farmers of Great Britain, see

Monthly Review, March, 1823, 181: 250–56.

Favorable. The writer accounts for the hard usage that Mr. B. had received at the hands of British critics by the fact that he was a dissenter from the established administration of England.

Oration delivered at Wanborough, Ill., on July 4, 1822. For text of this oration, see Niles Register, Oct. 5, 1822, 23: 73–75.

At the time of giving this address, Mr. Birkbeck had been five years a resident of America. He took the occasion to compare the advantages of his adopted country with those of European countries. The Register comments thus: "There is much sound sense and wholesome instruction in this product of a late British subject."

1823—Appeal to the people of Illinois on the question of a convention. 25 p. 8°. Shawneetown, 1823. (Copy in the Boston Athenaeum.)

A reprint of this pamphlet appeared in the Edwardsville Spectator for Oct. 11 and Oct. 18, 1823. It is also reprinted in this volume, from the original in the Boston Athenaeum.

1823—"Jonathan Freeman" Letters.

During the month of June and later in the year, 1823, Mr. Birkbeck contributed a series of anti-slavery articles over the signature of "Jonathan Freeman." The majority of these appeared originally in the Shawneetown Gazette, provoking and answering a pro-slavery advocate who signed himself "John Rifle." These letters were widely read and exerted no small influence in the struggle then being waged to prevent the introduction of slavery into the

State of Illinois. It is unfortunate that students of Illinois history do not have access to the early files of the Shawneetown Gazette,

Ten of the "Jonathan Freeman" letters are to be found reprinted in the Edwardsville Spectator for Nov. 1 and Nov. 8, 1823, and an additional letter replying to "W. K." appears in the number for Nov. 29, 1823. Twelve of the "Freeman" letters, including four not in the Edwardsville Spectator, are contained in Flower's History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, p. 210–42.

1824—Letter, to the editor of the Illinois Gazette, dated "Wanborough, Jan. 6, 1824." This letter was in reply to one which had appeared in the Illinois Gazette for Jan. 3, signed "Americanus." For reprint see Flower, History of the English Settlement in Edwards county, p. 243–44.

Letter, "to Americanus," dated "Wanborough, Feb. 18, 1824.

This letter was written "For the Intelligencer." It appeared in the Edwardsville Spectator for March 16, 1824, and is also to be found in Flower's History of the English Settlement in Edwards county, p. 244–45.

"An address to the citizens of Illinois for the day of election, and worthy of their serious attention preparatory thereto."

This was printed in the Illinois Gazette just before the election of Aug. 2, 1824. It was also published as a handbill and its free distribution is believed to have aided very materially in the defeat of the convention party. For copy of this address see Flower, History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, p. 207–09.

1825—Letter, addressed to "Fellow Citizen," appearing in the Edwardsville Spectator for Feb. 1, 1825

Mr. Birkbeck had been appointed by Governor Coles as Secretary of State. On the assembling of the Legislature his nomination was rejected by a pro-slavery senate. In this letter Mr. B. names the men who voted for and against his confirmation.

MORRIS BIRKBECK AND THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN EDWARDS COUNTY, ILLINOIS.

Biography of Morris Birkbeck.

Berry, Dr. Daniel.

Morris Birkbeck and His Friends. (See Illinois State Historical Society. Transactions, 1904, p. 259–73.)

Throws light on the times of Birkbeck and emphasizes the part played by the itinerant preacher in the anti-convention struggle. Portrait and *fac simile* of signature opposite p. 259.

Death of Morris Birkbeck. (See Niles Register, July 9, 1825, 28:304.)

Mr. Birkbeck was drowned while returning home from a visit to Mr. Owen at New Harmony.

(An) English View of Birkbeck. (See Quarterly Review, April, 1822, 27:91.)

"Mr. Birkbeck, in fact, hunted through every shape, will always be found to settle at last in that of the hard-hearted, selfish, greedy, avaricious and unprincipled land-jobber."

President of the Illinois State Agricultural Society. (See Edwardsville Spectator, Dec. 26, 1820.)

Mr. Birkbeck was elected first president of the Illinois State Agricultural Society.

Reynolds, John.

Birkbeck an Early Settler. (See his My Own Times, 1855, p. 286–87. Speaks of Birkbeck's services as a colonizer. Inaccuracies.

Secretary of State, Appointment as. (See Niles Register, Nov. 20, 1824, 27:192.)

Secretary of State, Rejection. (See Edwardsville Spectator, Feb. 1, 1825.)
A letter dated Vandalia, Jan. 18, 1825, over the signature of Geo. Churchill speaks of the regret occasioned by the rejection of Mr. Birkbeck as Secretary of State.

Secretary of State. Resolution of thanks. (See Edwardsville Spectator, Feb. 1, 1825.)
Resolution of House of Representatives thanking Mr. Birkbeck for the way he had discharged his duties as Secretary of State.—Adopted Jan. 15, 1825, by vote of 27 to 4.

Some Account of Morris Birkbeck. (See Portfolio (Dennies'). (Poole) 34:445.)

Washburne, E. B.
Morris Birkbeck. (See Sketch of Edward Coles, 1882. Use Index.)

BIRKBECK AS ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATOR.

Flower, George.
Anti-Slavery Services of Morris Birkbeck. (See his History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, 1882, p. 197–256.)
The best account available.

Ford, Thomas.
Morris Birkbeck. (See History of Illinois, 1854, p. 54.)
Birkbeck mentioned as a writer of fiery handbills against the convention.

Harris, N. D.
Birkbeck as Anti-slavery Advocate. (See his History of Negro Servitude in Illinois, 1904, p. 42, 44, 48.)
Brief mention: Reference is made to five important newspapers in Illinois at the time of the anti-convention controversy and their stand upon the slavery question is indicated.

Moses, John.
Morris Birkbeck. (See his Illinois, Historical and Statistical, 1889, vol. 1, p. 322.)
Birkbeck "published a pamphlet which is said to have contained the best arguments presented against slavery."

Wilson, Henry.
Anti-slavery Agitation in Illinois. (See his History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America, 1878, vol. 1, p. 164.)
Birkbeck mentioned in connection with the attempt to introduce slavery into Illinois.

THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN EDWARDS COUNTY, ILLINOIS, FOUNDED BY MORRIS BIRKBECK AND GEORGE FLOWER, 1817–1818.

Cobbett, William.
A Year's Residence in the United States of America. London. 1819.
In three parts. Part III, pages 439-610, containing "Mr. Hulmes' Introduction to his Journal; Mr. Hulmes' Journal made during a tour in the western countries of America, in which tour he visited Mr. Birkbeck's settlement; Mr. Cobbett's letters to Mr. Birkbeck remonstrating with that gentleman on the numerous delusions contained in his two publications, entitled, 'Notes on a Journey in America' and 'Letters from Illinois.'" Mr. Cobbett accused Birkbeck of wilful misrepresentation and discounted the Illinois prairies as a place for settlement. For review of A Year's Residence, alluding to Cobbett's attack on the Birk-

beck plan of emigrating to the prairies, see the Tickler letters in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, September, 1823, 14:319–26. Mr. Cobbett's A Year's Residence had a wide circulation, passing through at least five different editions.

Books on American Travel. (See Edinburgh Review, July, 1824, 40:427–42.)

Reviews of Duncan, Hodgson and "An English Gentleman." Birkbeck referred to, p. 440, in connection with Mr. Rapp and the Harmonites.

Faux, W.

Birkbeck's Settlement in the Illinois. (See his Memorable Days in America,* 1823, p. 250–312.)

Mr. Faux visited the English settlement in 1819 and his account of it attracted much attention in the English reviews. He seems not to have been a very systematic observer and his descriptions betray a certain vulgarity of mind. Notwithstanding the blemishes of his account, however, it is an important contribution to our knowledge of the settlement.

For reviews of Memorable Days in America, see the following:

Blackwood's Magazine, November, 1823, 14:561–72; Monthly Review, December, 1823, 183:443–45, and Westminster Review, January, 1824, 1:101–15.

Fearon, Henry Bradshaw.

Sketches of America. (See his Narrative of a Journey of Five Thousand Miles through the Eastern and Western States of America . . . with remarks on Mr. Birkbeck's Notes and Letters. London, 1818, p. 395–440.)

Adverse criticism. The author was never at the English settlement. "Mr. Fearon's book of travels, although appearing under his own name, it is said, was edited and published by the poet-laureate, and so worded by him as to give an unfavorable turn to everything American in the eyes of the English emigrant."—Flower, History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, p. 195.

See review in Edinburgh Review, Dec. 1818, 31:132 ff. Very little about Birkbeck.

Ferrall, S. A.

Albion village. (See his Ramble of Six Thousand Miles through the United States of America. London, 1832, p. 109–12.)

Speaks of Albion as a small, insignificant town. Says that Mr. Birkbeck is here called the "Emperor of the Prairies," but that he is respected in other parts of the State.

Flower, George.

History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois. Founded in 1817 and 1818, by Morris Birkbeck and George Flower. Chicago, 1882. (Chicago Historical Society's collection, Vol. 1.)

An invaluable source of information written by one of the founders. The inception and early history of the settlement are fully given and later developments down to the year 1860 are noted.

Flower, Richard.

Letters from Lexington and the Illinois. London, 1819.

Written while Mr. Richard Flower was journeying from Lexington, Ky., where he had spent the winter, to Albion, Ill., the home of his son, George Flower.

Flower, Richard.

Letters from the Illinois, 1820–1. London, 1822.

"Describing the condition and environment of Birkbeck's English colony at Albion, Illinois. . . . Written to encourage migration and to refute the charges against the region made by William Cobbett in his Weekly Political Register during the year 1821." E. E. Sparks in Larned, Literature of American History, p. 175.

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* Faux, W. (An English farmer.)
Memorable Days in America, being a journal of a tour to the United States, principally undertaken to ascertain by positive evidence the condition and probable prospects of British emigrants, including accounts of Mr. Birkbeck's settlement in the Illinois, and intended to show men and things as they are in America. 488 p. 8°. London, 1823. Simpkin. 14s. bds.

German Emigration in America. (See North American Review, July, 1820, 9:1–19.

Birkbeck's letters referred to as having popularized the colony at Harmony. p. 13.

Healthfulness of the English Settlement. (See Niles Register, April 15, 1820, 18:117.)

A statement correcting misrepresentation as to healthfulness of the country inhabited by Mr. Birkbeck and his associates. Population of settlement given as about 400.

Hodgson, Adam.

Birkbeck's Illinois Settlement. (See his Letters from North America, written during a tour in the United States and Canada. 1824, Vol. 2, p. 65, 78.

Unfavorable view of the settlement. See Monthly Review, November, 1824, (Poole) 105:245–62; also, Westminster Review, April, 1825, 3:469–70.

Hulme, Thomas.

The English Settlement in Illinois. (See his Journal of a Tour in the Western Countries of America, Sept. 30, 1818–Aug. 8, 1819, as reprinted in Thwaites ed. Early Western Travels, Vol. 10, p. 19, 47–51.)

A generally favorable view of Birkbeck's settlement which was used, however, by Wm. Cobbett as a basis for an attack.

Improvements at Albion. (See Niles Register, May 19, 1821, 20:192.)

Johnson, Dr. C. B.

Remarks on Birkbeck's Letters. (See his letters from the British settlement in Pennsylvania, 1819, p. 128–41.)

Unfavorable view of the settlement. (See review of Johnson's letters in Portfolio (Dennies'), March, 1819, 21:238–47.)

Letter regarding the settlement at Albion. (See Niles Register, Nov. 6, 1819, 17:146–47.)

Extract of a letter to the Register. Attempts to correct false impressions created by Mr. Cobbett. Mentions the public library at Albion.

Library at Albion. (See Edwardsville Spectator, Dec. 26, 1820.)

Refers to the establishment of a library and a reading society in Albion. Mr. Richard Flower credited as being the founder and promoter.

The public library at Albion was founded in 1818 and attracted the attention of distinguished visitors and reviewers. It was housed in one part of a brick building used for a market house. It was free to the public and was open on Sunday afternoons. Allusions to the library are found in several of the references elsewhere given. W. Faux, in his Memorable Days, 1823, p. 269, speaks thus:

"A good market house and a public library is at the end [of Albion], in which a kind of Unitarian worship is held on Sunday, when a sermon and the church service purified is read by any one who pleases. The books are donations from the Flower family and their friends in England. By sending donations, people become honorary members, and Mrs. Flower has by all legal means secured perpetuity to this institution which few expect to find in this distant wilderness."

George Flower, in his History of the English Settlement, p. 328–29, names some of the principal donors of books and mentions as drawbacks to the usefulness of this early collection, the character of the community and the absence of a fund for a salaried librarian.

Population of the English settlement. (See Niles Register, Jan. 27, 1821, 19:358.)

Population of Albion is given as 700. Settlement said to be prosperous. The library is mentioned.

Portfolio (Dennies'), November, 1819, (Poole) 22:434.

The writer of "Literary Intelligence" refers to a reviewer who, in the last number of the British Review, had regretted not having room to quote from Dr. Johnson's letters from the British settlement which he terms "an exposition of the fallacious statements contained in Mr. Birkbeck's letters from Illinois."

Peck, J. M.

The Settlement at Albion. (See his Gazetteer of Illinois, ed. 2, 1837, p. 101.)

Brief notice.

Stuart, James

Visit to the English Settlement. (See his Three Years in America, ed. 2, Edinburgh, 1833, vol. 2, p. 362–63, 380–402.)

Favorable account. Mr. Stuart visited Albion in May, 1830, twelve years after its founding. He regarded Birkbeck's statements as generally correct, but believed that he had been misinformed as to the price of farm labor.

Walsh. Robert, Jr.

Birkbeck's Travels (See his Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain Respecting the United States of America. London, 1819, p. 234–37.)

Points out inconsistencies in British reviewers as illustrated by the various reviews of Birkbeck's Travels. (For review of Walsh's Appeal, see Portfolio (Dennies') December, 1819. (Poole.) 22:493–515.)

Welby, Adlard.

A Visit to North America and the English Settlements in Illinois, with a winter residence in Philadelphia. London, 1821.

Unfavorable. Mr. E. B. Washburne, in a note to Flower's History of the English Settlement, p. 319, says: "The book would seem to disclose that his [the author's] real object was to decry the country and discourage the emigration of the English to it. It is written in a spirit of mean prejudice and is full of misrepresentation and abuse."

Woods, John.

Life in the English Settlement. (See his Two Years' Residence in the Settlement on the English Prairie in the Illinois Country. London, 1822, p. 141–304.)

Favorable view. Written by a practical English farmer, who came to Albion, Ill., in June, 1820. A trustworthy account, giving many details of actual every-day experiences in this pioneer English settlement. Reprinted in Thwaites' ed. Early Western Travels, vol. 10, p. 260–351.

Wright, Frances.

(The) Settlement at Albion. (See her Views of Society and Manners in America, ed. 2, London, 1822, p. 235–38.)

Favorable account. Library and postoffice mentioned. Two mails a week.

A NARRATIVE OF

MILITARY EXPERIENCE

IN

SEVERAL CAPACITIES

BY

EDWARD EVERETT

RESPECTFULLY PRESENTED TO

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF

QUINCY, ILLINOIS.

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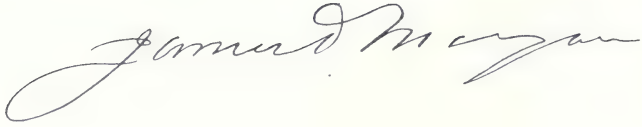
INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The following narrative was written by Edward Everett, a nephew of the better known Edward Everett of Massachusetts. It was presented by him to the Historical Society of Quincy, Ill., and has been for some years in the custody of Hon. William H. Collins of Quincy, by whom it has been lent to the Illinois State Historical Society for publication in this volume. At the close of each of the four "parts," into which the manuscript is divided, Mr. Everett has set his autograph signature.—(Editor).

* These parts of the original paper are omitted.



PART I.

REMINISCENCES OF THE MORMON WAR IN ILLINOIS.

Some items in the history of an independent company, raised and organized in one of the minor cities of the interior, at first solely for the pleasure of the young men composing it and to satisfy that military ardor to indulge in the mimic evolutions of war, which most experience at the vigorous age of early manhood, and without a thought of ever being called to perform actual service, may not be uninteresting; and the account I have to give may also tend to popularize such organizations and show the importance of fostering these schools of military knowledge and discipline by favorable legislation and by the influence of those who have much to lose by disturbances of the public peace, and even by war itself, which our late experience has shown may fall upon the country with unprecedented severity, without previous consciousness of its proximity or readiness to meet it.

The officers of our volunteer forces in the late war for the Union, as well as the previous war with Mexico, had for the most part received their only preliminary knowledge of military matters, and had learned to command men, or had shown their ability to do so, in organizations such as I refer to. And with regard to the company of which I have to speak, the members of it, who have subsequently held important commands, or have otherwise done good service to the cause, are not a few.

An apology for presenting the narrative at this time, written about 1881, is that the Mormon question is again prominent before the country and as the company referred to was called to take a prominent part in the suppression of disturbances in Hancock county, Ill., occurring at intervals from 1844 to 1846, the few particulars relative to the Mormons incidently introduced may serve to illustrate their career and show how impossible is the peaceable existence of a community governed by religious and moral laws differing from those of their neighbors and growing by degrees so powerful as to put the laws of the country at defiance. Such as the experience of this people has been in their successive settlements in New York, Ohio, Missouri and Illinois will in all probability be eventually repeated in Utah, and on a scale in proportion to their vast increase in numbers.

The writer would have preferred to have told his story in the third person, but having preserved notes of little beyond his personal experience, unavoidably himself assumes more prominence in the narrative than is desirable. His adventures, therefore, must be taken as a fair sample of those of his companions.

Under the name of the "Quincy Riflemen" the company was formed in March, 1843, under James D. Morgan,* captain; Benjamin M. Prentiss, 1st lieutenant; W. G. Henry, 2d lieutenant, and Charles Everett, Jr.,† 3d lieutenant.

Of the usual parades and encampments on the several "days we celebrate" it is unnecessary here to speak; the first event worthy of notice occuring early in the morning of June 28, 1844, when in consequence of the disturbed state of Hancock county and the murder of Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet, and his brother Hiram, in the Carthage jail, our company and other forces of Quincy, organized and unorganized, together forming a battalion under Major Flood were hastily called out and proceeded by steamboat to Warsaw, in Hancock county, about thirty miles above Quincy, and there encamped. As we were then about eighteen miles distant from the scene of the murder and no orders having reached the force assembled at Warsaw it returned, after a three days stay, to Quincy. As the "riflemen" were not on this occasion required to act on any serious duty, the time between drills, etc., was passed in fun and frolic, the intensity of which may be judged by a humble message sent up by another company lodged below us (a rain storm having compelled all to seek shelter in an old warehouse) that the racket might cease for a few moments while they called the roll.

In the following September the "riflemen" again received orders to repair to Hancock county, in anticipation of fresh disturbances between the Mormons and anti-Mormons. The company marched to Nauvoo, about sixty miles, mostly on foot, in forty-eight hours. They there joined a force of about 600 men under Governor Ford. The whole force encamped on the river bank about a mile below the Mormon city. The prompt presence of so large a force probably prevented or postponed the anticipated collision between the contending parties, as no action of a serious nature took place.

In order to test the promptness and readiness for action of the troops the officers caused a false alarm to be created in the middle of the night, giving orders to some to fire in certain directions, and as proper precaution had not been taken to withdraw the guard, this ill-advised proceeding caused the death of a member of the Springfield Cadets, who was shot in the groin.

Some arrangement was patched up between the contending parties for a cessation of hostilities and the troops returned to their homes. But the Mormon troubles continued with increasing virulence throughout the year and were accompanied by frequent outrage, murder and burning of houses and barns. Politics had a large share in promoting animosity, as the Mormon vote was a bone of contention.

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* J. D. Morgan was a Brigadier General throughout the late war and with his command accompanied General Sherman in his march to the sea. B. M. Prentiss was also Brigadier General. He and his command were taken prisoners at Shiloh in consequence of having held his ground longer than the brigades on his flanks, owing to which they were surrounded. The younger brother of the writer, a Brigade Surgeon, was killed in this engagement.

There were a number of others once belonging to the "Quincy Riflemen" who afterwards held rank during the war whose careers I have not traced.

† Charles Everett was with General Butler at the taking of New Orleans, was badly wounded at Port Hudson and was afterwards with General Banks on his unfortunate Louisiana expedition and was brevetted Brigadier General.

On Sept. 27, 1845, in pursuance of orders from Governor Ford to join the troops under General Hardin, for the purpose of suppressing another outbreak of hostilities in Hancock county, our company again proceeded by steamboat to Warsaw and from thence marched to Carthage, joining there the encampment of General Hardin where a force of about 400 men were assembled. On the 30th the force marched to Nauvoo. Our company was placed in the advance with loaded rifles, and we entered the city with some expectation of meeting resistance from the Mormons who were well armed and organized. After marching through the city the force encamped on the same piece of ground as on the year before. The weather was very cold and windy and as it fell to my turn to be sergeant of the guard, I had a hard duty to perform. A guard had been selected by details from the several companies, many of which had only been raised on the spur of this excitement and would again resolve into their elements on their return. No one who has not attempted to drill an awkward squad can conceive the obstinate stupidity of the country bumpkin on his first initiation into military service. When called to relieve guard, some being so overcome by sleep and fatigue could hardly be made to stand up, and far less to understand their duties and perform them, while others shirked altogether, so that the burden of the duty fell upon the better disciplined part.

The next day the Mormon temple and other localities were visited by portions of the force for the purpose of searching for suspected individuals but without result. The assembled forces then returned to Carthage, and after being disbanded, to their homes.

A conference had been held and it having been judged best by the State authorities to station an armed force in the county during the coming winter for the prevention of aggression on either side and to preserve the peace between the hostile parties, the "Quincy Riflemen" received and accepted an invitation to return to Hancock county as a mounted troop, to remain in the service of the State all winter. We then returned home to make our preparations, which were completed by the 9th of October, at which date the company, consisting of such of the old members as could leave their homes for so long a period and a number of recruits, together numbering fifty men, mounted on good horses, and armed and equipped as cavalry, left Quincy and rode to Warsaw and the following day proceeded to Carthage, the county seat, and were there mustered into the service of the State.

Another mounted company from Morgan county were also stationed there on the same duty, but were discharged after a short period of service, one company being deemed sufficient for the purposes desired.

The object of thus stationing an armed force in the county was to prevent the breaking out of open hostilities between the Mormons and other citizens of the county and to assist the civil authorities. We were placed under the command of Major W. B. Warren.

But a short time before, a settlement of Mormons had been attacked, the houses burnt, and the inhabitants driven off, one man having been killed. Aggressions had been constantly taking place on the part of the Mormons, and their villages as well as Nauvoo City, had become

harbors for horse thieves, coiners and other like professions, who when detected and brought before the courts, were sure to be acquitted by Mormon juries. Things had got to such a state that justice could not be executed, and the Anti-Mormons, though not justified in the violent course they had pursued in the murder of the Smiths, the burning of the villages and the like, were nevertheless not so much to blame as was generally supposed at the time by those who had no opportunity of ascertaining the true state of affairs. An agreement had been made by the Mormons with the State authorities, that the former should leave the State as early in the spring as it was practicable for them to travel, on condition that they should remain unmolested until that time, or as it was expressed, "until grass grew and water ran."

The drill of the company was both in infantry and cavalry tactics. In the former the previous practice of the older members, soon enabled them to bring up the new recruits to the standard of efficiency — and with the cavalry exercises, though new to all, as well as to the horses,— all could ride, or thought they could, and constant practice made them, in time, good horsemen, and the animals became accustomed to standing and moving in order, and the company made a good appearance on parade, and were effective on actual duty.

The uniform of the "Riflemen" was a dark green frock coat and cap, with dark trousers, and the men carried old-fashioned flint-lock rifles. As cavalry they were armed with sabres and pistols.

Our duties were frequently arduous and much of it disagreeable, having to ride long distances, frequently by night, exposed to all varieties of winter weather, over the bleak and treeless prairies, Carthage lying in the center of the county of which it was the seat, from twelve to twenty miles distant from other towns or villages, and being forty-one miles from Quincy in Adams county. Most of the county was then unsettled and open, the Mormon difficulties having retarded improvements. We were kindly treated by the citizens both at Carthage and Nauvoo, and by the opposing parties in the county, when not acting against them; and though considerable opposition was manifested by either party when our duties compelled us to thwart their purposes, our course won the good opinion of right-thinking men of both parties, when they found that it was impartial and for the general good. Scarcely a day passed without some expedition being undertaken for putting down disturbances, hunting horse thieves, recovering property, protecting individuals, etc., etc.

In the intervals between our duties, drills, etc., we managed to pass the time pleasantly, as in the company were several good musicians and singers; and among so many some very agreeable companions could be found. We had frequent invitations to dancing parties and other merry makings, and did our part in getting up others, as well as concerts amongst ourselves.

On the morning of October 23d a request for protection was received of which the following is a verbatim copy:

"Camp Creek, Hancock Co., Illinois, Oct. 22, 1845.

Major Warren Sir this is to certify that we as peaceable citizens having returned to hour dwellings was threatened and abused by a Mob night before last and ordered of by thursday or we would be put

out if it was by the Shedding of bloud they also stated that they had orders from the Govenar and other officers to order us of and we wish your assistence immediately

Nahum Bigelow
Peter Gunsolley
X
Edgar Gunsolley"

My brother, Lieutenant Charles Everett, with three men, at once started out for the purpose of affording the protection demanded, but the place, though only about fifteen miles distant, was in a thick forest, and by some mistake the party lost their way, and did not arrive at Bigelow's house 'till after dark. Seeing no one about, my brother dismounted, and finding the door partly open, pushed it more so, and proceeded to enter the house, when the Mormon supposing it to be the party coming to execute their threats and burn his house; and being determined to defend himself, discharged a gun loaded with buckshot at my brother's breast, and then seizing a pistol loaded in a similar manner, fired that also, and was on the point of taking up another loaded gun, when my brother stepped forward and prevented him, and only then succeeded in making the Mormon understand that he had come as a friend to protect him, and not to do him injury. One of the men was at once dispatched to Carthage for a doctor, arriving about midnight. I accompanied the physician and reached the place about daylight, and found my brother faint and weak from the shock of his wounds, which had not at first very seriously affected him. On examination one charge was found to have taken effect in his right breast, making six wounds, arranged in a circle; two of the shots remained in, and the rest were extracted or were found in his clothes, which were fortunately very thick at that point. The other charge had struck him on the left hip, but as the shot had first to penetrate a thick, buff sword belt, this would only amount to a severe bruise.

Bigelow, the Mormon, was an old man, and with his family were apparently living in extreme poverty. He expressed much sorrow at his all but fatal mistake, and rendered every assistance in his power. As it was judged best to take my brother home by way of the river, a buggy was procured, and we laid him in it, he being too weak to help himself; and thus we conveyed him to Pontoosuc, a distance of about five miles. We met with much kindness at Pontoosuc, and passed the night there, and in the morning, as no steamboats were running in consequence of low water, I hired a skiff, and fixed up a kind of couch in the stern sheets, with an awning made by stretching a cloak over some barrel hoops, and engaged a man to row us down the river. Charles was then carefully laid in the skiff, and we pushed off, but the skiff was leaky and we barely managed by active bailing to keep her from being swamped, until we reached Fort Madison, Iowa, where we landed. On hearing our story the citizens bore my brother, dressed in a red flannel shirt, up to the hotel, where every comfort was supplied to him, and another physician was called to see him. When he had rested sufficiently, and the boat had been caulked and made a little more seaworthy, we pursued our way down the river with the help of an additional rower.

The day was one of the finest of the "Indian summer" and the placid river, the islands and sandy bars studded with wild geese, and the wooded-bluff shores in rich autumnal coloring, made up some delightful scenes. We passed round the City of Nauvoo, with its Temple situated on a commanding eminence in its center, possessing apparently every advantage as the site of a great city.

After passing Montrose we entered on the rapids, which in times of low water then, formed a bar to steamboat navigation, except to those of extremely light draft, for twelve miles between this place and Keokuk. It now began to get dark, and as none of the party had ever been over the rapids before, the passage was attended with considerable danger, at least to my brother, who could not have helped himself if the boat should have been stove to pieces against a rock. This was not an unlikely thing to happen as the water ran rapidly, with a roaring noise over and among numerous rocks and stones. However, we arrived at Keokuk about 8:00 p. m., and Charles, who was much fatigued, was put to bed at the hotel. About midnight the steamboat Boreas came up, and we went on board, and were landed in Quincy early next morning. My brother rapidly recovered from the effect of his wounds, and returned to his duties in Hancock county, six or seven weeks after.

One day in December a strong party, led by Lieutenant Prentiss, and accompanied by a United States marshal with a warrant for the arrest of Brigham Young, went to Nauvoo. On arrival they were informed that that apostle was then at the Temple, to which they rode at once. While arranging how they should proceed, a person apparently high in authority descended the temple steps. He was recognized by the marshal as Brigham Young and was at once arrested, and taken in Brigham's carriage, which stood at the foot of the steps, to a hotel. The bystanders expressed their sorrow and indignation at seeing Brother Brigham taken away by the Gentiles. At the hotel a crown collected armed with clubs and other weapons, and Prentiss had to threaten death to any who should interfere. The prisoner was taken to Carthage. At the hotel there, some doubts were expressed as to the identity of the prisoner, and great excitement ensued, some declaring that he was Brigham Young, and others being equally positive that he was not. The question was at last submitted to the prisoner himself, who replied that his name was Miller, of which he should have informed them before if the question had been put to him. It became evident that he had been palmed off on his captors, to save the Mormon chief — men, women and children aiding in the deception, and calling him "Brother Brigham."

In January, 1846, the writer was detailed to accompany to Nauvoo, a constable who had a warrant for the arrest of a Mormon who had stolen two horses the night before. We went and returned in the stage, without finding the man, but having ascertained where he lived. Accordingly a party of ten, commanded by Lieutenant Everett, including the constable and myself, started on horseback at 10:30 at night. It was bright moonlight, with snow on the ground and *bitter cold*. About two o'clock next morning we passed the guard house on the outskirts of the city at a rapid rate, without question; and afterward

divided the party as we had a warrant for another man also. My brother with half the party went to the house of the horse thief and surrounded it, and was just in time to catch him in the act of getting away over the back fence. I with the rest of the party searched another house but without finding the man we were after. The prisoner was compelled to get a horse for himself, and my brother, myself, and two others started off with him, leaving the remainder of the party in Nauvoo to make further search for the other man and the missing horses. Large numbers of the Mormons collected and were much exasperated on learning that a prisoner had been taken out of the city; this being the first successful expedition of the kind. Learning that the other man's wife was at Golden's Point, six or eight miles south of Nauvoo, we turned off that way in hope of finding him there; and also with a view of eluding pursuit, in case of a superior force being sent after us to rescue the prisoner. After searching a house there, in vain, we returned with our captive to Carthage, having been riding about eleven hours. The fatigue of this expedition was excessive, especially to myself as I had had the long stage ride, during which I had frequently to get out and run to keep warm, and had also spent several hours in walking about Nauvoo, in addition to the long ride in the saddle, during an intensely cold night and mostly over the bleak and unsheltered prairie. I had travelled about eighty miles, within the twenty-four hours, without interval for sleep. The stolen horses were afterward traced to Missouri, where they had been traded for oxen, and the oxen brought to Golden's Point, where they were subsequently found concealed in a stable beneath a huge straw pile.

Omitting accounts of other expeditions of more or less importance, I pass on to one in April, when a party of five of the "Riflemen," under my command, with an officer of the law, proceeded to Nauvoo for the purpose of taking some property on attachment for debt. It was a fine, cool day and we got to our destination about 10:00 a. m. The constable proceeded to levy on a yoke of oxen and two wagons. While putting the oxen to the wagon, the owner, named Brigham, came up, and with great anger endeavored to unhitch the oxen. I had been taught the "menage" by an English dragoon, and by its use was able to crowd the man away with my horse's shoulder, and defeat his object, at which, after repeated attempts, he became exasperated and seized my rein, with one hand, which I struck off with a rap of the back of my sword. He then picked up a club, threatening violence, and a large crowd of Mormons began to collect, and many following his example armed themselves with clubs from the wood pile, and others, seeing the likelihood of an affray brought out their rifles, pistols, and other weapons. In this position of affairs my endeavors were directed to allay the excitement, but without much effect, as all were talking excitedly, mingled with oaths and threats. My men had their swords drawn and pistols out, and with one of them I had much difficulty to prevent his using his pistols without orders. The crisis was such that if one rash blow had been struck, or a pistol fired, a collision would have been brought on in which our small party must have been over-powered by numbers, and perhaps our lives sacrificed by the enraged Mormons. If, on the other hand, we had shown the least

symptom of fear, or less determination to carry through our object at all risks, the result might have been the same, as nothing but the risk they would have incurred kept their violence in check. To prevent their unyoking the oxen, attempts at which were still persevered in, I started them up, using the point of my sword as a goad, but the beasts alarmed at the disturbance of which they were the innocent cause, instead of keeping the road, turned aside and rushed down a steep bank towards the river; and after running some distance partly in the water, brought the wagon in contact with a large saw log, by which accident the yoke was detached from the tongue, and the oxen from each other. This occurrence put a stop to our proceedings for the time, and gave opportunity to the Mormons whe had augmented in number to several hundred, to reflect on the consequences of open resistance to a legal proceeding. So after getting back the oxen, and instructing my men to keep together and remain inactive, unless attacked, until my return, I rode to another part of the city to confer with the authorities. I succeeded in finding Mr. Babbit, who was then one of the principal men, who after examining the warrant, rode with me to the scene of action and informed those who had resisted us that we were acting under legal authority, and directed them to make no further opposition. No further *open* resistance was attempted but every means was used to baffle us in our efforts to get off with the property. First the log chain, which had been laid down and one of the men instructed to watch it, while the rest were re-yoking the oxen, was missing. Noticing a suspicious wisp of hay near, I rode my horse over to it, and by its clink, discovered the chain which had been thus neatly concealed. Then on going to the wagon which was partly in the river where the oxen had broken away from it, we found that all the linch pins had been abstracted. We soon, however, supplied their places with wooden ones, whittled from the chips lying about, and hitched the oxen to the wagon once more. We then drove to the place where the second wagon stood, which was also found to be minus the linch pins. Substitutes were supplied as before, and the pole of the second wagon lashed to the rear of the first. All this labor was performed amid the threats and maledictions of the Mormon mob, who declared we should not leave the city alive. Paying no heed to them, we were at last ready to proceed with our prey; but on starting up the oxen, the body of the second wagon came down with a crash—the king bolt having been secretly removed. This occurrence raised the laugh against us, in which we could not help joining. We were all too much exhausted by our previous exertions and the intense excitement lasting through three or four hours, to attempt the task of remounting the wagon; and so we went on our way with what we had, namely the yoke of oxen, one wagon and the fore wheels of another, which proved of sufficient value to cover the debt they were taken for. We arrived all safe at Carthage after 10:00 p. m., much fatigued with the day's work.

To put a stop to the practice on the part of the Mormons of resisting officers in the execution of their duties, and to make an example which would deter such demonstrations in future, Major

Warren with a party of about twenty of our officers and men, myself included, set off early next day to Nauvoo. There we captured Brigham and his brother, and two other Mormons, whom I pointed out as having been conspicuous in the fracas of the day before. It was found necessary to bind the hands of one of them who made resistance to our taking him. The boys threw stones at us and abusive language was freely used, as well as insulting songs which were sung for our benefit. I remember but one stanza of a long doggerel, very popular among them, sung to the tune of "Old Dan Tucker."

"There's Governor Ford with mind so small,
He hasn't room for a soul at all;
He can't be either damned nor blest,
If heaven or hell should do their best."

The presence of Major Warren and our decided demonstration that we were not to be trifled with, suppressed any general show of resistance on the part of the Mormons, and we returned with our prisoners and placed them in the Carthage jail.

A few days after I again went to Nauvoo, and remained there two days for the purpose of making a drawing of the Mormon temple. Being now on a peaceable mission I was well treated and every facility furnished for the prosecution of my object, and I obtained measurements and made sketches, from which I subsequently made drawings of the building. It was eighty-six feet wide in front and one hundred and twenty-six feet long, well and solidly built of limestone of a good quality, of a bluish white shade. The upper parts above the entablature were of wood, painted. The style of architecture displayed little taste, and there was nothing imposing about the building but its massiveness, and its fine position, which made it a conspicuous object in the view for miles around. There was but little ornament, and that consisted of suns, moons and stars, incongruously introduced as capitals, bases, etc., to the pilasters. The effect was spoiled by the numerous round and round topped windows, plenty enough for a factory. The whole was surmounted by a steeple. In the basement of the interior stood the immense stone baptising basin, supported on the hinder ends of a number of stone oxen, whose heads and horns radiated from the center. The sculpture was unlifelike and unfinished. The body of the building was occupied by two meeting rooms, or auditoriums, one above another, and alike in size and shape. The ceilings were flat at the sides, with a semi-cylindrical arch in the center, supported on pillars; being the worst arrangement possible for acoustic properties. In the roof was another large hall and there were numerous small rooms disposed in the spaces left over the low parts of the large halls. Subsequent to the final departure of the Mormons their temple was burnt, and its stones were taken by whosoever needed them.

May 1, 1846. The term for which the "Quincy Riflemen" were stationed in Hancock county having now expired, the company was dismissed from the service of the State by Major Warren, who expressed the highest satisfaction of the manner in which its duties had been performed, and the conduct of the men while under his command. We then mounted our horses and left Carthage, amid the

cheers and good wishes of the inhabitants, and after a nine hours ride through mud and water and streams high with the spring rains we reached Quincy, where we found a supper provided for us as a welcome home.

Before we left Carthage a petition was presented to Major Warren, that a small force might be retained in the county, to keep the peace between the two parties, and see that the Mormons performed their agreement of leaving the county. As the Mormons also made petition to a similar effect, it was decided that a force of ten men should be stationed at Nauvoo for a short time longer. Accordingly a detachment consisting of Captain Morgan, Lieutenants Prentiss and Henry, and seven others, returned and proceeded to Nauvoo and made its headquarters at the house of Joseph Smith's widow.

Disturbances were already on the point of recommencing, but were checked by proclamation from Major Warren. The Mormons were selling their property at a sacrifice and moving off rapidly; crossing the river at an average rate of four hundred and fifty teams a week during our stay, and a little before the end of the month six hundred and seventeen teams were counted in various stages of preparation. Undoubtedly there was much distress amongst these poor people driven from their homes in an inclement season and compelled to part with such property as they could not transport at ruinous prices, in order to provide the means for their journey into the wilderness, and for their necessities on their long and winding way.

We had not much to do during these four weeks of our stay besides looking on to witness this remarkable exodus. We were well quartered and the season was getting pleasant for out door exercise, and when otherwise, we found books to occupy our time.

The widow of Smith appeared a sensible woman, and the son of the prophet, who afterwards claimed the succession, was an intelligent lad of about fourteen years. The prophet's mother was also living, though very aged. Her duty and delight was to exhibit an interminable roll of cere cloth, said to have been unrolled from a mummy, and which was covered with hieroglyphics and figures, which the old lady undertook to explain, but in such a mumbling tone of voice, that we did not learn enough to convert us to Mormonism. All we could make out was the frequently repeated statement "that it all went to prove the Book of Mormon true."

The detachment was discharged from further service of the State and we returned to Quincy on the 31st of May.

The value of the services of the "Riflemen" in causing the peace to remain unbroken in the disturbed county during their stay, was made manifest soon after our final departure by the breaking out of fresh hostilities between the contending parties.

The company had very much improved in its appearance on parade, and its manoeuvers were executed with promptness and precision, and this commendation also applied to the horses who shared our toils and exposure..

It might be presumed that a number of young men thrown together with much idle time on their hands might run into excess, or follow bad examples. But strict temperance was always preserved amongst

us, and gambling was prohibited. As I have before indicated we had some good entertainers amongst us and in music and dancing we had many proficients. Books were kindly loaned to us, and athletic exercises were always in order. So the intervals between active duties were profitably employed to the improvement both mentally and physically of the individuals composing the "Quincy Rifle Company."

PART II.

ON THE MARCH TO THE MEXICAN WAR.

During the month of our stay in Nauvoo, war with Mexico had been declared, and as it was anticipated that troops would be called out from the several states, General Hardin invited our company to volunteer, as a part of a brigade he designed raising for an expedition against Santa Fé and New Mexico, which invitation we cheerfully accepted. The project was, however, abandoned in consequence of the requisition of the general government for three regiments of infantry from Illinois to serve in the war with Mexico for one year. We then resolved to volunteer in one of the regiments called for, as a company under our then organization and officers; and on returning to Quincy, we at once proceeded to recruit the requisite number of men. In a day or two this was accomplished as there were plenty of men eager to join, and on the 2nd of June we reported ourselves to the Governor as ready for service, and awaiting his orders.

To those unacquainted with the state of the western country at that time it may appear strange that myself and others of respectable standing and fair abilities, should first enlist in a troop, employed in so disagreeable and exposed a service, as that of ours before described, in the so-called "Mormon War," in which there was little to be gained of either honor or profit; and then after eight months of such service, should volunteer for actual warfare, in an infantry regiment. But for some years the times had been "hard" in the fullest sense of that expression. Money was extremely scarce, except that of broken banks, and failure followed every attempt at industrial or commercial enterprise. Living was, however, cheap and plenty, for the farmers could not sell their superabundant produce at remunerative rates. War is always popular under the pressure of bad times. And the Mexican War offered an outlet for the unemployed energy and spirit of adventure; with the certainty of change, and the hope of advancement. I have become aware that the war was not looked upon with favor at the East, and with the light acquired since as to its causes and its purposes, I should have concurred in its condemnation. In the Western States the war was almost universally popular, and little was said, or if said was listened to, in opposition to it, and its ulterior objects were kept out of sight. Leaving the rights and wrongs of the matter to the judgment of Congress, the love of adventure, or the remote prospect of "sacking the Halls of the Montezumas," overbore every other consideration, with those whose impulses led them to join the movement.

On the 16th of June, 1846, orders were received from Governor Ford for the company to proceed to the rendezvous at Alton. In the meantime we had been perfecting our organization, drilling, and furnishing ourselves with new uniforms; which latter consisted of a grey frock coat, trimmed with black, and forage cap to match, and black pantaloons. Being at St. Louis on other business, I called on Governor Ford and informed him of our state of readiness.

On the 18th of June we landed from the steamboat which took us down the river from Quincy, at Alton, where we were mustered into the service of the United States; being the seventh company mustered in, and the only one as yet with full numbers. The company consisted of Captain J. D. Morgan; First Lieutenant B. M. Prentiss; Second Lieutenant W. Y. Henry; Sergeants Archer, Evans, myself and Wood, ranking as named, four corporals, two musicians and eighty privates — together ninety-three men. Of this number only thirteen had previously belonged to the "Quincy Riflemen." The act of Congress (though afterwards altered in this respect) called only for two lieutenants, on which account together with some dispute, my brother resigned his position in the company. I continued to act as secretary of the company, making out and taking charge of all the books and papers, calling the roll, etc. After a few weeks' practice in the latter duty I was suddenly ordered to call the roll when I had not my book with me. Without hesitation I went through the whole list from memory, and from that time discontinued the use of the book for this purpose.

Having drawn some provisions and camp equipage, and having brought our own tents with us, we sought a camp ground, but none but a side hill offered itself, the slope of which made it difficult to maintain our positions and sleep also; and having no straw and no fuel to cook our suppers, we felt this as rather a hard beginning, but this was only a slight foretaste of what was to come.

Camping grounds suitable for large bodies of men were scarce in the neighborhood of Alton, the formation of the ground being remarkably uneven, with deep sink holes, having no apparent outlet for the water, and large ravines between broken hills. A place, however, was found about a mile and a half from the city which had a limited level spot, near a fine grove of large trees. Another company had encamped on the ground under brush tents, which shelter did very well in fine weather, but *would* leak when it rained. Other companies joined the encampment from time to time, and after a few days all were supplied with tents.

Two days after our arrival a selection of about half the company marched into town, and drilled there, going through the manual and various evolutions with great precision, to the astonishment of the citizens and other volunteers. In the drill and discipline the "Riflemen" had the advantage from the start, of other companies, which they maintained to the end of their service. This was mainly owing to the thorough acquaintance of the officers with their duties, and the experience gained during their service in Hancock county in the management and instruction of men. The qualifications and behavior of the officers determine the character of the men under their command.

Rough mannered officers have disorderly companies; and those companies having steady and intelligent officers are to be depended on for good behavior, both on and off duty. The same principle even extended to matters of health, as there was sure to be more sickness in companies whose officers were out of health or deficient in energy, though not exposed more than others.

In addition to rifles, our company was armed with artillery swords. They were about two feet long and two inches broad and double edged, and were a formidable addition to our means of offense at close quarters.

A sufficient number of companies having assembled, they were organized into four regiments: The First, to which we belonged, elected John J. Hardin as its colonel, who thereupon mounted his splendid white horse, and after returning thanks, appointed our first lieutenant, B. M. Prentiss, adjutant of the regiment. W. Wetherford was then elected lieutenant colonel, and W. B. Warren major.

The First Regiment of Illinois volunteers was made up of the following companies viz:

The "Quincy Riflemen" from Adams county, Captain Morgan
A company from Cook county, Captain Wells.
A company from Green county, Captain Fry.
The Hardin Guards, from Morgan county, Captain Roberts.
A company from Schuyler county, Captain Richardson.
A company from JoDaviess county, Captain Crow.
A company from Morgan county, Captain Wyatt.
A company from La Salle county, Captain Dickey.
A company from Scott county, Captain Montgomery.
A company (Rifle) from Cook county, Captain Moore.

As Morgan's commission was the oldest by some years, our company was awarded the right of the line.

The Second Regiment was commanded by Colonel W. H. Bissell (afterward Governor of Illinois).

The third by Colonel Forman, and the fourth by Colonel E. Baker, whose life was lost at the battle of Ball's Bluff, 1861.

General John A. Wool, U. S. A., arrived, and orders were issued for the several regiments to be in readiness to embark for the seat of war. The first and second regiments were to go to San Antonio de Bexar, Texas, and the third and fourth to Point Isabelle, at the mouth of the Rio Grande. Before embarking, the "Riflemen" being desirous of *doing things up in style*, gave a dinner at the Alton House, to which General Shields, Colonel Churchill, Inspector General U. S. A., the field officers, and captains of our regiment, and the colonels of the others, were invited; and most of whom attended. We had a pleasant dinner, and finished off with songs and speeches. Colonel Churchill looked as if he felt himself out of place, and that this was an unheard of innovation on the practice of the service for privates to join their officers to invite a personage of his rank.

July 18. Our company, together with three others of the first regiment and three of the second regiment, amounting, with officers, to about 700 men, embarked on the steamboat "Missouri," then the largest boat on the river. The remainder of the force left on other

boats about the same time. We were rejoiced to leave Alton, as our stay there was rendered very uncomfortable by the excessive heat and dust, which prevailed the whole time of our stay.

The voyage down the river was not on the whole unpleasant, though on drawing lots for choice of quarters we had the last, and had to take the only place left, which was the larboard cabin guard; turning out, however, the most comfortable place, outside the cabin, on the boat. Those companies who had first choice took possession of the space abaft the engine, which was fitted up with berths, and before starting was cool and comfortable. But on getting under way, the scene changed. The engine leaked steam, the furnaces and cook stoves emitted smoke which, with the heat, noise and smells produced forward, but finding their way aft, rendered their position scarcely habitable. In addition to these discomforts, the lower deck was crowded with stores; and last, but not least, weighty annoyance was that the boat took on at several points large quantities of pig lead which was deposited V edges up on the deck, covering a large portion of their sleeping space. Such is the common experience of steerage passengers on western boats. The sergeants were offered cabin passage at half price, but we preferred not to shrink the hardships, but to rough it with the rest. Our fare was hard bread, bacon and coffee and Mississippi water, the two latter without settlement—cooked by ourselves on fires built on frames filled with earth. At night it was our custom, after spreading our blankets on the cabin guard, to form the company, and then lie down in line.

The shore scenery of the Mississippi was monotonous until we reached the lower part of the river where the banks were occupied by plantations in a high state of cultivation, with their rows of bright green sugar cane running in perspective lines from the river to the background of dark cypress timber, overhung with Spanish moss. The villa residences of the rich planters were surrounded with gardens filled with flowering trees and shrubs, mostly unknown in the north; and near by were the humble "quarters" for the darkies, in strong contrast to the magnificent dwelling of their masters. As seen from the lofty "hurricane deck" of our steamboat, the height of which enabled us to overlook the "levee" and see down into the plantations beyond lying many feet below the river level, [this] was to us an interesting and novel sight.

We landed July 24 at the battleground, eight miles below New Orleans, where General Jackson defeated the British under General Packenham, January 8, 1814. We encamped on a flat plain, dry and cracked on the surface, but quakey, and seemingly semi-fluid below. A damp steamy heat pervaded the air, and the sun's heat was intense, from which there was no protection but our thin tents, and had the stay been long much sickness would have resulted. In a stagnant pond near our encampment, a young alligator about ten feet long, was caught and killed by the volunteers after an exciting battle, both in and out of the water. After two days' stay, the force was shipped on transports to be conveyed to Texas. Two steamboats and three or four brigs and schooners were employed in this service, and the companies were distributed to them by lot. Our company and that

of Captain Dickey embarked on the brig "Albertina," which, with other vessels, was towed by a steamboat as far as the mouth of the river. The peculiar forms of the mouths of the Mississippi, and the natural formation of the "levees" which have only to be completed by man by adding a few feet to their height, are among the remarkable phenomena of the Delta. For miles before coming to the outlet of the river it is confined between two lines of naturally formed banks, separating it from the water outside, gradually decreasing in elevation, and continued under water long after they are lost to view. They are formed by the overthrow of the muddy river, which on escaping from its proper channel, and finding space where its velocity and turbulence are diminished, drops its hitherto suspended alluvium, and adds to the height of the banks which confine it during lower stages of water. The same causes produce the bars at the several mouths of the stupendous stream which, however, are continually shifting and increasing their encroachments on the gulf.*

The water beyond the narrowing lines of the river banks looked clear and placid, and water fowl abounded.

Passing the bar the sea voyage commenced. For myself, as far as health was concerned, I enjoyed it, as the fresh, cool sea breezes soon dispersed the languid, sickly feelings which had come on during our short stay in Louisiana. Of my comrades, mostly western men, who had never seen the sea before, I regret to say that the motion of the vessel failed to agree with them.

The vessel was an old one, and the rigging and sails were unseaworthy, and an ordinary gale would have blown the latter to shreds; and some one was to blame for risking the lives of the troops in such vessels, particularly in the gulf, where sea room is limited, and harbors scarce and difficult to enter. The number on board was nearly 200, including the crew, which consisted of a captain and three men, and on emergency, what little I knew of seafaring matters enabled me to be of some use in working the brig. The weather was warm, that is, scorching in the sun, and mild at night. The commissioned officers occupied the cabin, but no accommodation was provided for the rest. It was too hot to sleep between decks, and but few availed themselves of quarters below. At night the tops of the cabin caboose, water casks, and the long boat as well as the deck, were covered by sleeping men, mostly lying *spoon fashion* to economize space. My place was on the edge of the cabin roof, where I slept soundly, unconscious of discomfort, though in considerable danger of being crowded off, or being swept into the sea by the spanker boom. The worst feature of the voyage remains to be told; when about two days out, the water which had been put in new casks, began to ferment and soon became disgusting and ropy, and its flavor was communicated to all food cooked in it, as well as the coffee. We refrained from drinking it as long as we could, but our thirst was aggravated by our diet of hard bread, salt pork and beans. Some in their distress attempted to drink the clear sparkling water, which looked so tempting when

* It must be borne in mind that these remarks were made some years before the era of Captain Eads.

just drawn from the sea. Our highly flavored drink accompanying a diet of fat pork, did not assist the recovery of the seasick, who looked disconsolate as they lay in the long boat amidships.

On the 30th we made land off Passo Cabello, and after taking a pilot, ran into Matagorda Bay. The brig anchored about ten miles from Port Lavaca, our destination, and we were compelled to remain there and endure our discomforts a day and a half more, though mitigated partially by the finding of one or two casks of good water which had been reserved for cabin use, which the men tapped and drank up forthwith. After being eight days on board the "Albertina" we were landed by a tug, all in good health, except one who had to be left when we moved on.

August 3d, after some hard work in transferring stores from the boat to wagons, we left "Port Lavaca" and marched twelve miles to Placidérés Creek, which had been selected for the encampment, named "Camp Irwin" from a gentlemanly United States quartermaster (who since died in Mexico). We were received with cheers by those already encamped there, who had also pitched our tents and prepared supper for us.

"Port Lavaca" was an inconsiderable village which had been selected as the depot for landing supplies for this division of the army. Its situation was flat and muddy, and the march from it was over prairie denominated, and justly so, "hog wallow," of which description there is abundance in Texas, near the Gulf.

Camp Irwin was on slightly rolling land, on the banks of a creek, which though dignified by that name could be jumped across, when not swollen by heavy rains. The weather was warm with frequent heavy showers, rendering the ground soft and muddy, so that parading and drilling were performed with difficulty. The camp was organized on strict military principles, and discipline was rigidly enforced. We here received our new rifles and other equipment.*

From this time forward our duties absorbed most of our time and strength and at every interval we were glad to rest, no superabundant energies and spirits were left, to get up fun and frolics, as was our custom in the Mormon campaigns. Our principal sport and luxury was bathing, which we resorted to at every opportunity.

General Wool arrived at the camp and was received in due form by the two regiments. He went on the 8th, with a small escort, to San Antonio. On the 10th our company having been ordered to march as a guard to a train of wagons on the road to San Antonio, we struck our tents before daylight, and after breakfasting, loaded our wagon, only one being allowed to each company to carry all its baggage consisting of tents, tools, cooking utensils, provisions for one or more days, officers personal baggage, etc. By dividing the men into messes of twelve instead of six (the usual number), we economized in the weight to be carried, by dispensing with nearly one-half of the mess pans, camp kettles, etc., allowed, which permitted other articles to

*It is a singular fact, not creditable to the War department, that although percussion guns had been invented many years, and that there were many other improved and greatly superior firearms known, that the war with Mexico was fought with old-fashioned flintlock guns. To this there were few exceptions, one of which was the regiment commanded by Jeff Davis who had percussion rifles.

take their place in the wagons. We shouldered our knapsacks, containing our personal baggage, which with blankets, haversacks containing provisions for the day, canteens holding about a quart of water, together with swords, rifles, cartridge boxes and ammunition, made up a considerable load to carry over the wretched roads we had to traverse.

When the teams were ready to start we commenced our day's march to Victoria, which was said to be eighteen miles distant, but seemed to us much longer. For nearly two-thirds of the way the water standing on the prairie varied from ankle to knee deep and the mud on the wagon track, and the long tangled grass greatly impeded both men and the teams; only three of the latter were able to get to Victoria that night, and four of our men slept out on the prairie, being too exhausted to reach camp. For myself, I was almost overcome by the fatigue and the excessive heat of the sun between the frequent showers; but finding a hillock above water about large enough to recline on, I laid down and slept a few minutes, under a refreshing rain, which so revived me that I accomplished the remainder of the march without difficulty. We camped on the bank of the "Guardalup" river. Much rain fell in the night.

The remainder of the force left "Camp Irwin" the next day, and their experience on the road was similar to ours. About two hundred men were unable to reach Victoria, having "*give out*," and as the teams also failed to get through, they all had to pass the night without tents. This exposure increased the number of sick considerably; many having also been left behind at "Camp Irwin."

The "Guadalupe" at Victoria, was a deep, muddy, rapid stream about 200 feet wide, with perpendicular, alluvial banks. It was crossed by a scow ferry, propelled by the oblique action of the water on the scow, which was fastened to a pully running on a rope stretched across the river.

With much labor the teams were crossed and assisted in getting through two miles of deep mud on the other side; after which the road led over a fine rolling prairie, crossed by two or three small streams, which we waded through nearly waist deep, having ceased to be particular about wetting our feet, after the experience of the preceding day. We were thankful to have clean water to wade through. We camped on the "Coleto," twelve miles from Victoria, and this stream being too high to cross, we remained on its banks during the next day.

The "Coleto" was a beautiful, clear creek with a rocky bottom. I here witnessed a novel process of ferrying a traveller to the other side, by a Mexican, who made up a large bundle of weeds in a dry rawhide, by drawing the corners together with his lariat. This buoyant vessel was then launched and the traveller with his baggage, saddle, etc., seated on top. The Mexican then taking the end of the lariat plunged in and swam across, towing the hide with its load to the other side, where the traveller safely landed. The horse was then led over, the Mexican swimming in advance.

About noon on the 13th, the stream having fallen a little, we began to get our things across. To accomplish this was a matter of some

difficulty as the water was up to our necks and running with great velocity, and it was only by holding up a load over our heads that we could keep our footing. In this manner the baggage was carried over, and then the empty wagon was dragged through by a rope. We rather enjoyed the sport, but it is a wonder our health did not suffer from the consequences of working for several hours naked, in and out of the water, under the noon-day sun. After crossing we camped about three-quarters of a mile from the creek.

This day the brigade came up and encamped on the other side of the stream. On the 14th we started early, in the hope of keeping ahead of the brigade, as we much preferred detached duty which left us more at liberty, and under less restriction than when with the large body. But having a wagon train to escort, we had a hot, tedious march to a creek called Manahuila, where the main body came up with us. Here the brigade remained, to allow time for some lagging companies to come up.

The country about here had a fine appearance, consisting of rolling prairie with scattered patches of timber, principally live oaks with their branches festooned with Spanish moss, with long hanging points waving in the breeze; its greenish grey tint harmonizing richly with the bright varnished leaves of the evergreen oak. Wild grapes abounded, rivaling in appearance the finest cultivated kinds. The men who had a craving for something acid, after having so long been confined to salt and dry provisions, ate of them with avidity, and evil consequences were feared from the indulgence; but none ensued, unless it was the sore mouths from the acid quality of the grape skins. Deer were plenty, and many were brought in by hunting parties, giving an agreeable variety to our fare.

The march of the 16th, was about fifteen miles, passing over the ground on which Fanning and his men were cut off and massacred by the Mexicans. The whole force marched together for the first time, this day. The "prickly pear" began to be abundant, and some of the men were made sick by eating its rich looking, but insipid fruit; besides being wounded by its sharp thorns, some being so fine as to look like tufts of fur, but producing bad sores where they stick.

The march of the 17th, in consequence of not finding a suitable place to encamp, where it was intended to stop, was prolonged to over twenty miles. The excessive heat of the day, and the sandy roads to which we were confined much of the way by "chaparral" or low prickly trees and shrubs mingled with long tangled grass, impossible to march through, the scarcity of water, and the absence of a breeze, rendered this day's march very exhausting and two or three hundred men were unable to reach camp before night. Some of the wagons, also, did not arrive, so that some of the companies were deprived of both tents and suppers. The energy of our company was shown in a strange manner. After having marched fifteen miles the men began to feel impatient to get through, and gradually increased their rate of walking, till the pace obliged the colonel to trot his horse to keep ahead of us; this was kept up for one or two miles, until we received positive orders to slacken our speed.

On the 18th the encampment was moved to a better place, about a mile distant. It was resolved to leave here a company in charge of the sick, of which there were now many, the measles having broken out during the march from Lavaca. The whole force, as well as the animals, being in much need of rest, we went no further that day. Insects had become troublesome, and were of all varieties and sizes from "trantulas" as big as a hen's egg down to a microscopical scarlet bug which burrowed into the skin of our feet, producing intense itching and sores, called "jiggers" (probably "chigres").

On the 19th the brigade with the exception of the one company to be left and the sick, among whom were three of our men, resumed their march, and after having traveled six miles, about noon, were met by an express from General Wool, with orders for Captain Webb's company, 2d regiment, to make a forced [march] in advance of the brigade, in order to reach San Antonio as soon as possible, where their services were required to guard the public stores. It so happened that Captain Webb's company was the one left behind that morning with the sick; and on consultation the field officers decided to send on the "Quincy Riflemen" as the company in the best condition for the march, instead.

Two mule teams had been sent to carry our baggage and provisions, and were at once loaded up. The tents and all that could be spared were left behind to make room for our knapsacks and blankets in the wagons. We were then seventy-one miles distant from San Antonio. About 1 p. m. we commenced this march and about sunset reached the banks of the "Cibolo," or Cervela as they called it, a beautiful creek running here through a ravine about thirty feet deep. After bathing in the cool stream we cooked and ate our suppers and laid down to rest in the long grass, which before morning was saturated with dew. The distance marched since noon was about fifteen miles. The "musquite" trees began to be abundant, and "chaparral" more dense and frequent; and the short grass was so rough and sharp-edged that it cut and wore out our shoes and pantaloons very fast.

Before daylight next morning we arose and were on the march, and crossed the creek about three miles higher where it was shallow and the banks less steep. From this point we could obtain no water until we reached the San Antonio river about noon. The sun was very hot, the road sandy and loose, with little shade, and we suffered much with thirst. We halted at a "ranche" on the river bank, and spent several hours resting, bathing and refreshing ourselves. It was here I first saw a specimen of the hairless or naked Mexican dog. A small party of Lipan Indians came up and examined us, and we them, with equal curiosity. The river at this point was about one hundred feet wide, with rapid current thick with whitish mud, and having high precipitous alluvial banks. The morning's march was twenty miles. At 5 p. m. we resumed it and went fourteen miles further, and *bivouacked* on the banks of a small stream, and having supped, laid down on our *gravelly* beds for a few hours sleep. The march was recommenced at 4 a. m. on the 21st, and by 10 o'clock we had reached the "Salado" a narrow but pretty stream fourteen miles from where we had passed the night, and about seven from our destination.

Here we spent an hour in our usual manner, namely, in the water, and getting something to eat, and then pursued our weary way. The last few miles of this march were distressingly difficult and painful. The dry dusty road, under a burning, almost vertical sun, hedged in on each side with low musquite bushes and "chaparral," just sufficient to keep off the breeze without affording any shade, aggravated the effect of fatigue. Many had blistered feet, and those who had not, felt every time they put a foot down, as if it was placed on a hot iron. But the sight of our goal from the high ground on our way, encouraged us to proceed, and we arrived at the outskirts of the town about 3 p. m., having accomplished a distance of seventy-one miles within fifty-one hours, including two nights—and that at the end of a march of one hundred and fifty miles, in all, performed under every disadvantage of season, climate, etc. We halted outside of the town, at one of the irrigating ditches to wash and clean up, while the captain went forward to report our arrival and readiness for duty to General Wool. The general was astonished at our rapid march, as an express which we had actually beaten in time, had reported that we should probably reach San Antonio in about two days more. On the return of the captain, the company was formed and we marched to our place of encampment, concealing our sufferings from sore feet and fatigue as best we might. The place selected was in a grove of large cotton-wood trees, or "*alamos*" being called the "Alameda." We were furnished tents by the quartermaster.

Next day an order was received to detail a guard each night at 6 p. m., consisting of a sergeant, a corporal, and nine privates for the purpose of protecting the public stores. Many Indians, half breeds, Mexicans and disorderly stragglers of all sorts were about, rendering a guard highly necessary. On the 24th the brigade arrived and encamped near the town and the next day moved to a fine position near the head of the river, to which the name of "Camp Crockett" was given. The volunteers looked tired and dirty, although they had been three days longer marching the last half of the way than we had been.

San Antonio de Bexar had long been a military frontier post, under all the changes of government Texas had undergone, namely, Spanish, Mexican, Texan, and that of the United States. Its general plan was rectangular, having a "Plazza" or open square in the center, and another called the "Military Plazza." The river approached the town from the north, and after embracing a large part of the town in its convolutions, pursued its general course to the southeast. The houses of the more substantial class were built of rough stone, plastered outside, seldom over one story high. The roofs were nearly flat, constructed of cross joists of red cedar, between which strips of wood were laid, and upon this plaster in successive layers, forming a mass sixteen to twenty inches thick, which, when well finished, was impervious to water or heat. The walls carried up formed a parapet to the "housetops," which were used like those of the Orientals as pleasant evening resorts. Windows were scarce, or altogether wanting, and only a few had balconies, indicating that there was an upper floor within. Some were built round an inner court, which, when

there was a fig tree in the center, looked cool and shady. The lower class of buildings were built of "adobes" or sun-dried brick; or of upright poles set close and the interstices plastered with the same white marly mud that the adobes were made of. The poles were bound together with strips of rawhide, and the roofs of these buildings were thatched with "tule" grass from the river. The door openings were closed, except in very bad weather, when a stiff rawhide stood on end served the purpose of a door. Within these "Jackels" little or no furniture was seen other than the universal raw hide, which did duty in place of beds, tables, chairs, or wheelbarrows, and a thousand other purposes in its whole state, in addition to its numerous uses when cut into strips.

In addition to the river, and a very pretty rivulet on the west side, the streets were intersected by small canal which conducted a supply of water in front of the houses. The river was crossed by a bridge, which was repaired with our help, leading to our encampment in the "Alameda," and there was a good ford on the south side. The general appearance of the place was highly picturesque, being irregularly built, and having an Oriental style, which might perhaps be traced to its derivation from the Moors of old Spain. On one side of the plaza was the Church of San Pedro, in which services seemed constantly going on, the peals of its cracked bells sounding at intervals both day and night.

We were not sorry to be continued on detached duty, although that we were called on to perform was perhaps more severe than those of the companies with the brigade. In addition to the regular guard duty before mentioned, we were required to keep a force of ten or twelve men on duty as a patrol guard, during the first half of the night, to preserve order, and be ready in case of any emergency; for the majority of the inhabitants being Mexicans, it was much like being in an enemy's town. We also had frequent calls on us for men to assist in loading or unloading stores, and other labors. These various duties left us but little time for rest or recreation, and for the latter we had few energies to spare; the men being on duty about every fourth night, and the sergeants every other night, which together with three to five hours drilling every day, was about as much as we could stand. The company had rapidly improved in their drill and exercises, and were highly complimented on the proficiency shown, in general orders; and both in these particulars and in general discipline and behavior we were far ahead of others. When by ourselves we paraded as a battalion, each sergeant having command of twenty men, which were maneuvered as companies.

By special order of Colonel Hardin, Lieutenants McConnel and Black and private Henry, from other companies, and myself, were assigned the duty of collecting information respecting the history, customs, etc., of places passed through on the line of march, and of making drawings of buildings and objects of interest, particularly those in the neighborhood of San Antonio; and we were to have leave of absence whenever we required it for the purpose. Making the drawings was the share of work alloted to me. I first made a

drawing of the "Alamo" in India ink;* and then proceeded to take a sketch of the Mission Church of San José, which being about seven miles from San Antonio, one of the officers kindly loaned me his horse for the expedition. I started one afternoon and found my way to the "Mission" without difficulty, passing on my way to the "Mission Conception" which I intended to take a drawing of on another occasion. "San José" was remarkable for its facade, which was elaborately carved in stone, scroll work, supporting statues of the Virgin and Saints, surrounding the entrance and central window. The workmanship was excellent, and the design unique and rich.

The building itself, though of fine proportions, was plain, and the bell tower of a rough Moresque style. The roof was of stone, arched, and covered with a vegetation, much of it flowering. A bearing peach tree was a conspicuous object projecting over the front. The edifice was fast going to decay by disintegration by weather, and the action of the roots of the vegetation flourishing at its expense; and though occupied as a church, it showed neglect of ordinary care. The interior was plain, with a dome surmounting the transept. At the rear was a long range of buildings with an arched stone gallery, which looked as if it might have been used as cloisters. The church stood in the middle of a large court yard, around the wall of which, where not dilapidated, were rough stone hovels and "jakels" inhabited by Mexican families of the lowest class. There were also a few Texans, looking like bandits, occupying the rear buildings. I commenced my sketch from the top of one of the hovels, but as it was late and I feared I might not have another opportunity to complete it, I resolved to pass the night at the "Mission," though aware that I was incurring considerable risk in doing so. I procured some forage for my horse, and tied him near by, and having got some supper with a white man who had possession of one of the rear rooms, I spread my blanket on the earthen floor of the long gallery, and placing my pistols so as to be in readiness, I laid down to sleep with my saddle for a pillow. I had not laid long before I was savagely attacked, by enemies who would be satisfied with nothing short of my heart's blood, and against whom all the precautions I had taken were of no avail. In short, I was nearly devoured by fleas, one of the plagues of Texas, which abounded in this old building, and flourished in the dust of its decay. Passing the night in an agonizing doze, I rose from my dusty bed on seeing the first streaks of dawn, and resumed my drawing; and from the rough sketch so obtained I subsequently made the drawing here given. I designed taking drawings of many other objects of interest in the neighborhood, but an event occurred which put an end to such intentions for the time.

In the evening of Sept. 11th it was my turn for duty as sergeant of the patrol guard, and I went with a party of eight or ten men into the

* The name "Alamo" was applied generally to the whole series of buildings standing, or which had stood around a large quadrangle, as well as to the ruined church (represented in the engraving) which, though adjoining, was outside the quadrangle. The whole had been reduced more or less to a state of ruin by its siege and bombardment in the war for Texan Independence, concluding in the massacre of the entire garrison, including several who have become famous for their deeds, or eccentricities, such as Travers, Bowie, Crockett and others. The church seemed to have been the last stronghold, and amidst the debris of its stone roof, when subsequently cleared away, were found parts of skeletons, copper balls, and other articles, mementos of the siege; as were the numerous shot holes in the front.
The keystone over the entrance bore the date of "1758."

town. Our orders were generally to suppress any disturbances which might occur, and arrest any riotous or disorderly persons, and to remain in town until quietness prevailed. We were armed only with our swords, mine being a light officer's sword, and the men wearing their short artillery swords. Having given the men their instructions we separated, and while walking 'round by General Wool's headquarters the general, who was sitting outside, called me to him and enquired respecting the state of the town. I told him that all was quiet as yet, but that there were a good many "fandangoes" going on, on which he said, "You must keep a sharp lookout on those fandangoes."

These "fandangoes," as they were called, were dances held in the Mexican houses; sometimes inside and sometimes out, but in either case on the bare ground. They were open and free to all who chose to participate — it being expected, however, that the gentlemen at the conclusion of each dance would lead his partner to the refreshment table. For music they had one or more violins on which was played a waltz, which answered for all kinds of dances; and on other occasions this same waltz served to enliven funerals, religious processions, serenades, etc. The company attending these orgies consisted of Texans, of whom there were many about, lately discharged from service, teamsters, soldiers from the camps away without leave, mingled with Mexicans, gamblers, and roughs. Of the feminine portion of these assemblages I will say nothing. The scene was both disgusting and highly ridiculous. An apartment of considerable length and height but cramped in width, badly lighted with smoky candles, crowded with human beings, dancing furiously, perhaps a cotillion to a waltzing tune, or if a waltz or "contra" dance, but one portion (the Mexicans) knowing how, and the rest going through the figures with a *double shuffle* or other fancy steps, much to their own satisfaction. All this performance in an atmosphere obscured with thick clouds of dust, raised from the dirt floor, mingled with steam from the perspiring throng, and flavored with the fumes of whisky and vile smells — and at a temperature which must have ranged very high in the centre of the mass, judging from the warmth of the weather outside. In connection with these "fandangoes" were "monte" tables at which their visitors could try their fortune against the bank, in amounts from a "picayune" and upwards. It could hardly be expected otherwise, than that these disorderly assemblages should lead to quarrels and outbreaks amongst their ill-assorted attenders, excited by drink and play. Accordingly about 11:00 o'clock information was brought to me that a violent disturbance had broken out at a "fandango" in one of the houses on the square. With two or three of our men I went to the place and found a man in a high state of excitement, swearing awfully, and threatening the lives of all who interfered with him. What the row was about or how it commenced, I never learned. I stepped up and requested him to be quiet, when he turned on me, presenting his pistol to my breast. I then spoke in a more peremptory tone and advanced on him, while he retreated holding the pistol between us, until his friends opened a door behind him and he made his escape. I would have been well satisfied to have it end so, but a few minutes after word was brought me that the same

man was going on as before, and boasting that he had driven off the guard. Upon this I resolved to arrest him and went to the scene of action accompanied by another sergeant of our company and three or four of our men. I entered the building, which was a gambling house full of people, in the midst of whom was the ruffian, who as I approached again presented his pistol, when I for the first time drew my sword, but without making further hostile demonstration. As I advanced he in the excitement of rage or liquor, fired, but without deliberate aim, or he would have aimed at a more vital part. Had I been properly supported, it is likely that on seeing a superior force against him he would not have used his pistol, but the sergeant who was with me not only did not enter the building himself, but prevented the men from following me in, and assisting in the intended capture. The shot took effect in my right knee and I fell back on a settee but sprung up again intending to cut him down, but my right leg failing me I fell to the floor in a sitting posture but with the limb below the knee at an unnatural angle. Our men rushed in and seized the man, and came near executing summary justice on him, and I was near being trampled to death in the confusion. Assistance was summoned from the camp, and the prisoner taken there under a strong guard. I was carried on the settee to a house appropriated for a hospital, but without any accommodations beside the bare room. There were no beds, and I was laid on the floor with nothing but a single blanket between me and the boards, and not until the next night was a cot provided. The ball had entered about an inch above the knee, breaking the end of the thigh bone, and resulted in the shortening of the leg, and partial stiffening of the joint. The ball was lodged in the bone and no attempt was made to extract it. Amputation was usual in such cases, but being in perfect health at the time, and no unfavorable symptoms showing themselves the operation was not performed. I omit the detail of what I suffered, and the lack of comforts for a wounded man for there was no "sanitary commission" then.

By General Wool's order Hardy, the Texan who had shot me, was turned over to the civil authorities, who immediately set him at liberty —when he was again seized by our men and taken to the camp on the Alameda. They were followed by a large mob of Texans who threatened to release him by force. The company was then drawn up with loaded rifles, and their spokesman who was very abusive, was arrested by order of Captain Morgan, when the Texans, seeing that their menaces were of no avail, retired. Both prisoners were then again given up by order of General Wool, who would not take the responsibility of punishing Hardy, as the place had not been placed under martial law. Such being the case, the orders under which we were performing this disagreeable duty, should not have been given, unless the general was prepared to sustain us in the consequences of carrying them out. The civil authorities had neither the will nor the power to execute justice against Texans, and Hardy was not even brought to trial. He met the fate he deserved at other hands, at Matamoras in 1850, when he was hung by lynch law, for having shot a man down. He had taken several lives before.

As it was very hot in the house where I was, I was taken to a temporary hospital under the trees of the Alameda, near the encampment of the company. It consisted of a light wooden frame over which was stretched large tarpaulins, with tent cloth curtains to let down at night. In it were arranged rough cot bedsteads for the patients. In the day time when there was a fresh breeze I found it more tolerable than the house, but when night came and the curtains were let down, the sights, sounds, and odors from the numerous patients, sick or injured, was horrible; some delirious with fever, tossing, moaning, and talking constantly, others suffering from neglect, and occasionally when some man was near his end, his friends would assemble round and howl Methodist hymns to the annoyance of those in want of sleep. Through long wakeful nights I have listened to these sounds, interspersed with the shrill howling and barking of the wolves, over the shallow graves of those volunteers who had finished their earthly campaign. I was myself well attended to by members of my own company, and though at one time, reduced very low by complaints brought on by rain leaking on to my cot, my wound healed rapidly and the bone united, though tender for a long time.

Our first lieutenant, B. M. Prentiss, was elected captain of Company I, in place of Captain Dickey, who resigned on account of ill health, and Sergeant Evans was elected to fill the vacancy in our company.

On September 26th the first division of General Wool's army marched, enroute for the Rio Grande, consisting of two companies U. S. Dragoons, one company Flying Artillery, two companies U. S. Infantry, Captain William's company Kentucky Infantry, six companies Arkansas Cavalry, Colonel Yell's, Captain Morgan's and Captain Prentiss' companies of the First regiment and Captain Webb's and Captain Lemon's of the Second regiment, Illinois Volunteers; the whole under the command of Colonel Harney, U. S. A.

The rest of General Wool's army took their departure early in October leaving Captain Hacker's 2nd Illinois in charge of San Antonio. A number of sick were left behind, including four of our company. I felt somewhat sad on parting with the comrades I had been with so long. Colonel Hardin, Major Warren and many other officers of the two regiments came also to take leave of me, as also did Adjutant General McDowell and other officers, who had shown me much kind sympathy in my misfortune.

Captain J. H. Ralston from Quincy, Ill., with whom I had heretofore had some acquaintance, arrived in San Antonio October 13th, having been assigned to duty at this Post, and came to see me. He was in want of a clerk, particularly of one who could be depended on to remain in the office, as steady characters were difficult to obtain; and seeing that I, in my then condition, could not but suit him in that particular, he agreed to employ me, being also prompted by his kind feelings to remove me from the discomforts of the hospital, to his own quarters.

The building formerly occupied as headquarters being now vacant, the hospital was established there, and the weather having become cold and disagreeable, all the sick and disabled were removed thither

COL. JOHN J. HARDIN.

with the exception of myself and the corpse of a man who had died that day, It became late and the chill of evening was approaching; and thus in the dismantled hospital, in solitude, and almost as helpless as my quiet companion, was I left, and I feared forgotten. From this hour I date the turning point in my fortunes.

However, before it was quite dark, a party of Captain Hacker's men appeared and carried me, cot and all, to Captain Ralston's quarters. From this time I was able to make myself useful as a clerk, first sitting up in bed, with a small desk before me, and then as my wound gradually healed, I was able to do more and increase in usefulness.

Of the subsequent career of the "Quincy Riflemen" I have little to say, as I did not rejoin them. They preserved their character for energy and discipline throughout the campaign.

During the battle of Buena Vista it was, with three other selected companies, charged with the defence of Saltillo, but they were not attacked. On the third day of the battle they were called to the front, but the Mexicans had retreated.

Colonel Hardin was killed on the field of battle.

PART III.

AT SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS, IN THE QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT U. S. A. 1846-'48.

In about a month after I was wounded (September 11, 1846) I was removed from the military hospital tent to the office of Captain J. H. Ralston, a newly appointed Assistant Quartermaster U. S. Army. Being still unable to stand I was removed in my cot, and for some weeks I transacted business on a table constructed for that purpose, and set across my bed. My recovery was slow but improvement was continuous and in November I was able to get about a little on crutches, and in a few months more to substitute for these, two, and then one, cane.

From December 18, 1846, to January 3, 1847, was occupied in a journey to a post on the Rio Grande, at the point where the army of General Wool had crossed into Mexico. It was about one hundred and eighty miles from San Antonio and six miles from the town in Mexico called Precedio. We accompanied a large train of loaded wagons, and a body of about two hundred men, consisting of a small cavalry guard, a lot of mechanics and other employés, and a number of invalids who had been left behind, but were now sufficiently recovered to join their regiments. Captain Ralston and myself had expected to proceed with the train to the seat of war, but after the train had gone a day's journey on its way from San Antonio orders were received from the head of the department for Captain Ralston to relieve Captain Wall of his duties in San Antonio, while the latter was ordered to report for duty in the line. Under the circumstances it was arranged that we should go with the train as far as the Rio Grande, and there turn over the property to another officer who would proceed with it to Mexico, while we returned to San Antonio.

On the return of Captain Ralston and myself to San Antonio, the Quartermaster's stores and other property remaining in the hands of Captain Wall, U. S. A. were "turned over" to Captain Ralston; the process of which occupied us busily for several days. These stores, in addition to animals, wagons, etc., denominated "means of transportation," consisted of articles which had been purchased on the outbreak of the war, and forwarded to San Antonio, many of which were in surplus quantity, or were unsuitable to the needs of the army. For instance, a large quantity of pack saddles had been provided in view of a probable advance across a rough or mountainous country, impassable to wagons, as was known to be the direct route to Chihuahua. Of course the best and most serviceable of everything was taken on by the army on its march into Mexico, and consequently most of the property thus left in our hands was unsuitable to the necessities of the army at that time or was in bad condition. Horses

and mules worn out, sick, and disabled, mostly by harness galls, required rest, medicine and recuperation; wagons required extensive repairs, and even rebuilding, in some cases, from the debris of several shattered vehicles of the kind, the parts of which thus brought together would again become serviceable. The care of all this property, with the purchase of other animals, forage and material of many kinds, together with the receipt of large supplies from New Orleans, and its distribution, some to the army gone to the front, and some to posts on the Texan frontier, constituted a very large business, involving the expenditure of large sums of money and the employment of many men. The ready money for these operations was obtained by drafts on the U. S. Quartermaster at New Orleans, which were readily cashed by the merchants of the town. The cash thus furnished us was mostly in Mexican dollars, dirty to count, and inconvenient to handle, though occasionally we would get a few gold pieces. Requisitions for Quartermaster's supplies, including at first much grain, were made on the department at New Orleans, all of which had to be hauled from Port Lavaca. Besides that of our own department, the transportation of large supplies for the subsistence department had to be provided by us.

We continued to fit out wagon trains and load them with supplies for the army until it had advanced too far into Mexico, or occupied positions where they could procure supplies from other directions. Afterwards the fitting out of Texan troops for frontier service, and their subsequent supply of forage and other necessaries furnished employment for a large number of men and animals.

We purchased from time to time a large number of horses and mules, besides paying rewards for animals brought in occasionally by men who had picked up abandoned or lost horses, some of which had been found running with herds of mustangs, and had been recaptured. Having the U. S. brand indelibly marked on them, rendered these animals liable to be reclaimed by the U. S. authorities wherever found—otherwise we should have had to pay full value for their return, if returned at all.

It was a remarkable circumstance, that being so near the seat of war, we were in almost total ignorance of the great events which were going on, and did not learn of the movements which were made, of the numerous skirmishes of the enemy, or even of the great battles until long after they were fought. Our only mode of communication with the army in front was by means of solitary express riders, who were employed only when there was anything especially important to transmit. These men would choose a fast horse capable of long endurance of fatigue—lightly equipped with skeleton saddle, bridle and lariat; with a bag of corn meal and grated meat and a little ground coffee, and a coffee mug as their only cooking utensil. A Mexican blanket, buckskin leggins, in addition to their ordinary apparel, a knife and a pair of pistols, completed their equipment. Depending on their alertness, and on the fleetness of their horses for their safety, these riders had to run the gauntlet of the numerous enemies in their path—Indians, Mexicans, or wolves. Sometimes news was brought in by Mexicans. It was in this way that we heard

the first rumor of the battle of Buena Vista. I gather from some of my old letters the following: In February, we heard of the capture of Cassius M. Clay and Major Borland with a small force of Arkansas cavalry. In March, an express arrived in ten days from Comargo, with an order from Colonel Curtis, commanding there, to the Governor of Texas, calling for 2,000 mounted men, in consequence of news having been received there that General Taylor had had several fights with the Mexicans, and was retreating from Saltillo, and that Mier was in the hands of the Mexicans, who were then marching on Comargo.

On March 22, (a month after the battle of Buena Vista) a report was brought in by a Mexican, who said that he was at a place about 150 miles from San Luis, and saw Santa Anna and his army pass on their way to attack General Taylor at Saltillo, 20,000 strong. He afterwards saw them returning in full retreat with only 17,000 men, they having attacked General Taylor at his camp nine miles beyond Saltillo, and were repulsed with a loss of 5,000 men killed, wounded, prisoners or deserted. They could not tell how many Americans were killed, as they could not penetrate their camp. This news, so substantially true, came in so questionable a shape that we hardly knew whether to believe it or not; and knowing that a large portion of the troops had been withdrawn from Taylor's army to join that of Scott, and that the remaining force was only about 4,000 to 5,000 men, we could hardly believe that our friends had defeated four times their number. Our anxiety to know more was consequently intense, mine especially so, to which was added the disappointment I felt at not being able to be with my comrades in the hour of danger.*

In our state of isolation at that time, even news from the States and letters from home were several weeks on their way, and occasionally months, from their having been sent to the army in other directions. From occasional return volunteers we obtained some particulars of which I here summarize a few relating to the division and company to which I belonged:

On the march into Mexico, Colonel Churchill, Inspector General U. S. A., was in command of one division. He was so much of a martinet as to be exceedingly unpopular with volunteers, who of course took their revenge on him whenever opportunity offered to do so without detection. Guns would be fired off at night contrary to strict orders; altercations and imaginary dog fights would be gotten up in the vicinity of the officers' tents, and the suppositious canines would be incited to the attack with cries of "Go it, Churchill!" "Seize him, Thomas!"—the latter being the name of the quartermaster in chief, who had rendered himself almost equally unpopular. One day a man shot a deer within the prescribed limits in the vicinity of the camp, and being arrested, Colonel Churchill, after lecturing him severely, hinted that he would let him off if he would

*Perhaps the wound I had received had been fortunate in one respect, for at the time that our first lieutenant was chosen to command another company, it was intimated to me, I know not on what authority, that I would have been appointed to the adjutancy he resigned, had not my wound prevented my performing the duties. The new adjutant of the regiment, Whiteside, was killed on the field of battle with Colonel Hardin and others.

send around a quarter of the venison to his tent—but the volunteer, seeing his opportunity to turn the tables on his judge, drew himself up and said, quoting the language of Colonel Churchill, "that he could not think of becoming a party to such a breach of discipline."

Morgan's company had been sent on with the advance, and had given further proofs of its discipline and endurance in the long marches, and of its reliability when stationed in towns, on the line of march. It was with several other companies for some time stationed in Monclova to guard the magazines and stores, and control the population, who were very hostile. As the Mexican authorities had been deposed, a member of our company, who at home had been familiar with the practice in petty courts, was appointed "Alcalde." It is related that his rule partook somewhat of the character of justice as administered in some Eastern nations, and that when a Mexican was brought before him for some misdemeanor, it was his custom to order him "half a dozen" to prepare his mind for the examination. Severity was, however, tempered by fun in most cases.

The companies of Morgan and Prentiss and two others had been selected by General Wood to occupy and defend Saltillo, and consequently they were not in the Battle of Buena Vista, though threatened with attack by a large force in the rear, under General Urea. On the night following the second day's fight, this reserve force was ordered to the front, where they expected to meet the enemy on the third day, but to their great surprise, at break of day no enemy was to be seen. They had gone, leaving their fires burning to deceive us, and were already many miles on their retreat.

The regiment remained in that vicinity till near the expiration of its term of service, when they were ordered to New Orleans, and were there discharged and paid in June, 1847. As my company did not return through San Antonio, I was disappointed of the pleasure of meeting with them. My eldest brother, Charles, who had joined the 4th Illinois regiment in the capacity of sergeant major, had gone with it to Point Isabelle at the mouth of the Rio Grande. He was soon after promoted to adjutant of the regiment, and, from his superior experience, substantially its commander. His regiment went to Comargo, and then to Tampico and from thence by water to Vera Cruz, and was present at its bombardment and capture. At the Battle of Cerro Gordo the two Illinois regiments were under fire for some hours, and a large number of their men were killed and wounded, and the commander of the brigade, General Shields, was severely wounded by a ball through the lungs. While the regulars were attacking the principal forts, the Illinois men found their way round to some batteries on the left of the Mexican line, which they captured and turned the guns upon the enemy as the latter retreated. Continuing the charge they soon after came upon the carriage of Santa Anna, from which the General had but just before escaped on one of the mules, cut from the traces. Amongst the effects found in the carriage was the General's cork leg, which was held up as a trophy to the view of the troops.

The 3rd and 4th regiments suffered much by sickness, losing by death and discharge for disability, nearly one-half their numbers, contrasting strongly with the 1st and 2nd regiments, who, having a healthier line of march, lost comparatively few.

To return to the subject of our life and duties at San Antonio. Every three months very voluminous accounts of all business done in that interval had to be rendered to the proper accounting officers at Washington. These were not only money accounts of amounts received and expended, but property accounts, showing how and from whom all articles of property had been received, purchased, made, found or otherwise acquired; and how the same had been issued, turned over, used, lost or otherwise expended, concluding with the balance of each article remaining on hand; and every transaction having to be supported by satisfactory vouchers. The number of different articles being very large, and each requiring a separate column, the several classified abstracts, and the general account filled many pages of foolscap; and having to be made out in triplicate, the ends of the several quarters were busy times for us. In addition, other accounts had to be made out monthly, and there were many letters and reports, which were mostly written by myself. Similar accounts had to be rendered also of the ordnance and medical stores in our hands.

The system of army accounts is very elaborate, and holds officers to a very strict account, charging to them personally any deficiency for which they cannot render a satisfactory explanation. In many of the casualties of war, however, it is impossible to take vouchers for all hurried issues and much property is found wanting and unaccounted for. Many a staff officer is indebted to a battle or some like disturbance for enabling him to settle accounts which otherwise could not bear too close a scrutiny.

Office work was done at considerable disadvantage in the Mexican building we occupied; as for light and ventilation, the doors had to be kept wide open, and the floors being level with the streets, and composed of the same materials, the dust was very annoying. Not from the doors alone did this pest of a dry climate come upon us, but having had spread over our tule thatched roof a large tarpaulin to remedy some of its deficiencies, on one occasion a violent "Norther" suddenly ripped it off, and we were showered with the accumulated dust in the old roof.

Early in the spring of 1847 the idea of turning the then ruinous Alamo building to some account as a depot for army stores, and for offices, workshops, etc., was entertained. These buildings having been used by Texas as a fortification in their war with Mexico, they became by the treaty of annexation the property of the United States. Captain Ralston seeing that they could be made available at an inconsiderable expense, and having obtained permission from the quartermaster general, proceeded to put the plan in execution, and by his direction I made out plans and estimates for placing them in serviceable condition, in which my knowledge of construction became available. In the course of a few months these ruins were converted

into ample storehouses for quartermaster property, and others for ordnance property and medicine stores, forage houses, blacksmiths, carpenters, wagon makers, harness and other workshops, also stabling and mule yards. Besides these, a convenient office and quarters for Captain Ralston, and myself and other clerks were fitted up.

The lumber for the roofs, floors, etc., of Southern pine, shingles, etc., was obtained from Bastrop, and hauled from there a distance of about one hundred miles, timber suitable for the purpose not being obtainable nearer. The ruinous portions of the walls were repaired, and the old plaster or concrete roofs removed, in which operations many thousands of bats were unceremoniously evicted, and rendered homeless, and from that time each was dependant for a lodging literally on his own hook.

The buildings thus remodelled, extended (see plan) from the corner next to the church, along the east line of the quadrangle, a length of about two hundred feet. They averaged about eighteen to twenty feet wide outside and twelve to eighteen inside. The height of the walls was twenty feet and over, so that in parts we put in floors midway. The office was in the south end, and Captain Ralston had a room 'round the corner. They were fitted up with rough tables, stools and cot bedsteads. These quarters being elevated one story above the ground, and having plastered walls, glass windows and a wooden floor, were a vast improvement on those we before occupied.

I can present nothing new regarding the history of the Alamo, but can only give the account of the condition in which we found it in 1846–47, and subsequent developments on clearing away the debris of the fallen walls and roofs. There was no pretentions to ornamental architecture except in the facade of the church, and portions of its interior. Such of the other buildings as remained, having the usual thick and roughly-built stone walls, and heavy plaster roofs. These we rebuilt and adapted to our purposes without remorse, but the church we respected as an historical relic — and as such its characteristics were not marred by us. We had the debris cleared away from the interior, in which process several skeletons and other relics of the siege were found. I regret to see by a late engraving of this ruin, that tasteless hands have evened off the rough walls, as they were left after the siege, surmounting them with a ridiculous scroll, giving the building the appearance of the headboard of a bedstead. The care thus shown, however questionable the taste of its execution, is highly commendable, when compared with the wanton destruction with which other curious buildings in the vicinity have been visited, by relic hunters, or other vandals and iconoclasts.

The keystone over the front entrance bore the date, 1758. Numerous shot holes, and the demolished roof, and probably towers, bore testimony to the severity of the bombardment; this part, from its stronger built walls, having been resorted to as the last stronghold of the devoted band. On either side of the entrance was a small vaulted room, having each a small window opening to the front. The roof had been of stone, of a semicircular arch springing from the side walls, which were as usual in the form of the Latin cross, and were

well and solidly built. Adjoining the transept on one side was a vaulted room strongly built of stone, which we made use of, after properly securing the entrances, as a magazine, in which was stored the large amount of ammunition in our hands.

Captain James H. Ralston was a Kentuckian who had settled in Illinois — tall in person, and sallow complexion, with that formality of address, and assumed dignity so often seen in the western lawyer. In politics he was a Democrat, and as he termed it "a strict constructionist" though moderate and non-partisan in his views. He was mild and pleasant in his intercourse, and was quite popular with the citizens of the place; and no unkind word ever passed between us — though on occasion, as a delinquent once observed after a reprimand, "he could use a fellow up in very few words."

He was occasionally called on to make speeches on public occasions, as his delivery was good and his manner impressive, but as his early education had been very deficient, he would make out a rough draft of what he had to say, and then hand it to me to improve the language, and write it out clearly. His letters and reports to the heads of the departments at Washington were gotten up in the same manner. When it became probable that we should be stationed for some time at San Antonio, Captain Ralston sent for his wife to join him. She died in a few months after her arrival.

My brother, S. W. Everett, was in Quincy, Ill., studying medicine, and as we had medical stores to receive and issue, as well as need for his services otherwise, I sent for him to come to us. Of course I was rejoiced to see him after so long a separation, during which I had been through so much. He was put in charge of the ordnance and medical stores, and besides these duties he had many opportunities of practice in his profession, and was sometimes called on to take the place of the surgeons at the Texan camps during their temporary absences; and although at that time he had not attended even his first term at a medical college, he was very successful in the treatment of such cases as came into his hands.

Soon after our return from the Rio Grande, attempts were made to raise a Texan regiment for the war, and Colonel Groghan, inspector general, was at San Antonio for the purpose of mustering them in. This officer was a striking contrast to his brother inspector, before spoken of, in his manner towards volunteers and others. He took much interest in me and promised to use his influence in getting me a position in the engineer department. I made for him some maps of the Texan frontier from the best information then obtainable.

The attempt to raise Texan troops for the war was almost a failure, as they were unwilling to volunteer for a service where they would have to submit to discipline the same as other troops and have their plundering and murderous propensities interfered with. Enlistment for this service was consequently very slow, but at the same time there were plenty of volunteers to be had for service on the frontiers of Texas to defend the sparse outside settlements from Indian raids. I suppose there was some real need for a force for this purpose, but to further influence the government to authorize, and pay for its es-

tablishment, it was said that fictitious Indian raids were gotten up, and these demonstrated being enhanced by exaggerated reports, at last had the desired effect; and the several companies, as they were successively organized and equipped, were located at widely separated posts. The distance from the Red River to the Rio Grande measured on the curve enclosing the outside settlement was probably over seven hundred miles, and the several companies or detachments of them were stationed at varying intervals where their presence was thought to be most needed, some being as far as three hundred miles from San Antonio.

The Texan Volunteers who had participated in the war, had no doubt rendered efficient service towards the conquest of Mexico — but it was in their own way — and their conduct when not restrained by the presence of other troops, resembled that of what is known as "bummers" and a not infrequent exploit was the plunder and outrage of defenceless villages or ranchers. When compelled to observe the rules of discipline, the war became distasteful to them, and when disbanded many returned and joined the Rangers for service in their own State. I speak and judge of them on the average, according to what I saw and heard— but in corroboration of my view it is reported that when General Taylor disbanded them after the taking of Monterey, "he thanked God that the last Texan Ranger was discharged."

Of their mode of fighting Indians, I present an account written by one of themselves, cut from newspaper, which may be taken as a fair sample, showing how, after allowing their horses to be "stampeded" (which was because they were too lazy to keep guard, or watch over them) a strong force of Rangers followed and fought the Indians, charging, as they express it, "furiously within two hundred yards"— but keeping at long range so that the only man injured, beyond the surmise that a chief was killed, was one wounded of their own party. The principal execution done being the shooting of their own horses. (See following extract):

Indian Fight.— We take the following extract from a letter written by Samuel C. Whiting, a member of Captain Veache's company of Rangers stationed on the Rio Grande. The letter is dated 30th April, ultimo.

"On the 13th inst., six of us left our encampment for Captain Gillette's station, ninety miles from this post, on the Arroyo Leona. Our scouts meet regularly on the first and fifteenth of every month for the purpose of conveying letters, etc. As we were on our return back to our station on the evening of the seventeenth, we had encamped near a salt lake within five miles of Live Oak creek, when twenty-five or thirty Indians came yelling through our camp with a most frightful appearance and stampeded all our horses but one, which fortunately had been made secure close by our camp. When the Indians found that they had our horses safe, they halted and fired a few rounds at us, thinking to drive us from our position; but meeting a firm resistance, they traveled on, yelling after our horses, as far as we could hear them. During the stampede we made our rifles tell a frightful tale among the savages, but they kept such a

prancing and capering about that we could effect but little. In this skirmish none of us received any injury but the loss of our horses. Old Hose, a Mexican who was with us, was immediately dispatched to the main encampment for more men; and had not started more than five minutes when we heard the Indians whooping in pursuit and followed him nearly to the Rio Grande, about thirty miles distant, but his horse being very fleet he made his escape. The remaining five of us commenced our march about dark for camp, trudging through mud and water ankle deep, which we reached next day about twelve o'clock, after a tramp of thirty-five miles, worn down with fatigue and hunger, having nothing to eat for forty-eight hours.

"On the twentieth, forty of us left camp in pursuit of the Indians. We struck their trail within 200 yards of the place where our horses were stampeded. They had come to our camp on the morning after we left, cut to pieces our bridles and saddles, and then moved down the country, making a large trail. We followed them till the evening of the twenty-third through boggy prairie, rain falling every day, so that our horses came near sinking from exhaustion. On this evening our spies ahead waved their hats for us to move on. The place of their encampment was in sight. As soon as they perceived the spies, six in number, the Indians hoisted a red blanket and raised the war-whoop. But when the main body of us dashed furiously up within 200 yards, dismounted and tied our horses for the fight, the Indians lowered their red flag and hoisted a white one. But the boys couldn't swallow this deceptive pill, and commenced pouring a broadside into the ranks of the enemy. The Indians now formed in battle array and we fought them about half an hour, when they fled into the chaparrel, leaving all their effects behind them. During the fight, the Old Chief charged about on one of the horses which was taken from us before—a beautiful gray, with his neck painted red. We are satisfied that he was killed, as he was found dead and his war club and shield near him, which I have in my possession. I made two fair shots at him, besides many others which he received. Fifteen of us pursued them through the chaparrel on foot and gave them a running fight, while the remainder of the company went in pursuit of the cavayard. Doubtless, many of the Indians were killed, judging from the blood found in many places. Samuel Turner was the only man of us wounded—who was shot through the right breast—none killed. The Indians numbering thirty-five or forty. When we charged them, they cried out, "Lipans!" after having showed us a fighting propensity.

"We took from the Indians twenty-seven mules and two horses, besides their entire camp effects of buffalo robes, Spanish blankets and many other articles, amounting in value to perhaps eight or nine hundred dollars.

"We found them on a creek called Arroyo Péna, about seventy miles from this post."

It was said that one of the party returning to the camp on foot, after having suffered the Indians to steal their horses, commenced his narrative by cautioning his companions "not to laugh," in a most menacing manner.

I do not remember of hearing of any more serious engagement, though occasionally a member of a scouting party would come in, with exhausted steed, and tell a tale of horror that the party had been attacked and that all had been cut off but himself. Soon after another of the party would arrive, with a similar but not quite the same story—then others would arrive, 'till the whole party would assemble, proving that they had been more frightened than hurt.

In one of my brother's letters I find the following extract, he having gone to one of the most distant of the camps to supply the place of a surgeon, temporarily absent:

"The Texans treated me very well, and appeared to more advantage in *camp* than they would in *court*. They were out of *spirits*, and this circumstance caused great improvement in their conduct. I believe they are the most ungovernable set of beings in the world; no officer dare command them to do anything they do not like, although they will suffer and appear to expect the worst of swearing and bad language whenever they are addressed."

Their general feeling towards the United States was, as it is reported to have been said by Colonel Hayes, "that he did not care if the United States were to sink, if Texas floated."

The first few companies of Rangers were long in organizing as before mentioned, and were meanwhile encamped in the vicinity of San Antonio, and being under no discipline whatever, the men came into town when they pleased, frequenting the grog shops, and gambling houses and committing outrages of all kinds.

One day while sitting at my writing table within a few feet of the open door, two drunken Rangers rode past, and a young man employed in the office, impudently made some remark, at which they chose to take offense, and stopped their horses, and rode back. The young man had gotten himself out of the way—but seeing me the Rangers turned their abuse on me, drawing their pistols and calling me with dire imprecations to "come out and they would give me another lame leg." I had no weapons handy, and the odds were against me if I had, and if I had retreated probably a shot would have followed me. So I sat still, pretending to go on with my writing, and paying no attention to them. They continued riding to and fro before the office for some time, and at last rode off, I presume to take another drink and boast of their courageous conduct.

The usage of the Mexican population by these men and their compeers was shameful. Shooting or robbing them was of frequent occurence, and little was thought of it, and no redress was to be had. On the other hand, justice (?) was not inclined to let the accused escape punishment when the culprit was a Mexican or an Indian. A Mexican had been shot by an Indian, it was supposed by accident, and the Indian was caught and confined; but in the night they left him apparently unguarded, so that he got out and tried to get away. But the Texans were on hand and shot him as he ran, and then dispatched him with an axe.

A not uncommon outrage was for a mounted and armed Texan to ride into a store and defy any one to put him out. On one occasion, however, one of these desperadoes met his match, and was without

ceremony pulled off his horse and stabbed or shot before he could use his own weapons.

The man who had shot me was never brought to trial. He was so highly esteemed for that and other exploits that he was made a lieutenant of one of the new companies.

I had a dispute with a Captain Crump of one of these Ranger companies, on account of some pistols which they had from us for a day's expedition in consequence of some false alarm of Indians. These pistols were returned in such bad order that I refused to receipt for them as in good condition. Upon this, Captain Crump got very angry and tried to bully me into compliance. He treated me to a course of abusive language, and then invited me to go outside with him and fight it out. I coolly told him that I had no personal quarrel with him, and that he could shoot me as well where I was if he wanted to. Finding that he could not frighten me, he changed his manner and wanted to shake hands. This I declined doing until he had withdrawn his offensive language, which he did with full apology, and took his receipt as it was first written. This man was not above shooting an unarmed man — for a short time before the altercation with me his brother had had a shooting match with another Texan, in which both parties were hurt. To avenge his brother he went to where his antagonist was lying on the floor, writhing with pain, and deliberately shot at the wounded man, the ball passing through the clasped hands. The only way at all safe in dealing with these desperadoes was to keep perfectly cool, showing no fear, and making no demonstrations, as from constant practice they were probably quicker with a pistol than one could expect to be. Most of the fights where both parties were armed, came to an unnecessarily rapid and fatal conclusion, owing to the mutual dread that the other party would get the first fire, and thus quarrels begun about trifles, it may be, were hurried by the mere show of arms, to a serious termination. I did not make a practice of carrying arms but went about my business or pleasure unarmed, except when on a journey, or there was some special reason for so doing. Once when we had several thousand dollars in specie in the office, a rumor reached us that there was a plot to rob our office, and there were many rough characters about. We prepared by loading a large number of rifles, with which to give them a warm reception if they came. We heard no more of it, however. The mere risk from accidental shooting, where arms were so freely and carelessly handled, was considerable. A fine young man belonging to the Rangers was shot by another recklessly snapping off a pistol just outside the office. The wound cut the femoral artery and he bled to death in about twenty minutes. So also was the danger from drunken men. I met one of our teamsters once with a loaded horse pistol in each hand, on his way as he said to shoot a barkeeper, who had refused to sell him liquor. I delayed him as long as possible in conversation in the hope of cooling his anger, and diverting him from his purpose, which perhaps had some effect for though he went on to his destination, I did not learn that his design was consummated, Of course we dis-

charged such men when such characteristics developed themselves, but for the occupation of mule driving and other rough labors we could not be over particular in our selection.

Worse characters even than the Rangers were the professional gamblers, who rode fine horses and dressed expensively. One of these named Blanton, excelled all others in unrestrained lawlessness. One day he and a companion wantonly attacked a house where two ministers resided. Being refused admission they fired several shots through the door, one going through the hat of one of the ministers. Getting in, they fired a number of shots while in the rooms, and the frightened clergymen hid in the closets or under the furniture. This Blanton shot dead a United States soldier of the Eighth infantry who he accused of calling him a padré as he passed him on the street; and this case will serve to illustrate Texan justice as administered in San Antonio. Blanton was nominally arrested, and taken before a justice, and as he sat there surrounded by his comrades I could see the butts of his pistols projecting under his cloak. Captain Ralston undertook the prosecution and made a powerful speech, during one part of which when his remarks bore pretty hard on the prisoner, Blanton put his hand into the breast of his coat, as if about to draw a weapon, with a view to intimidate Captain Ralston, but without effect in abating the severity of the address. Though the evidence was clear that the soldier was unarmed and was shot down in cold blood, Blanton was discharged, on the ground of having shot the man in self defense. Though the following incident did not occur 'till near the time of our departure, it may be as well to finish here what more I have to tell of this desperado. The clerk of the quartermaster who came to relieve us of our duties, was walking in the middle of the street, when Blanton and another came riding in the opposite direction. As they passed Berrier, one on each side of him, Blanton struck him a heavy blow on his head with a revolver, knocking him senseless, and inflicting a wound that took him many days to recover from. I heard some months after I had left Texas that this same Blanton, who had formed a band for the purpose of plundering travellers on their way to California, somewhere on the upper Rio Grande, was shot down, a fate that should have overtaken him earlier.

The process of mule breaking was a summary one. We bought many of these animals wholly untamed, and brought in in herds and turned loose into a yard of the Alamo buildings. They were then caught one by one with a lasso, in the use of which the Mexican herders were very efficient. The noose being thrown 'round the mule's neck, it was drawn to a post, 'round which the animal would wind the lasso, until strangulation, or a near approach to it, ensued. While in a state of unconsciousness, ready hands would put on the bridle and harness and almost before the mule had come to his senses he would find himself a member of a six mule team, attached to a heavy loaded wagon with locked wheels, mules of longer experience being hitched next to the wagon, and in the lead; and on one of them was mounted the driver, controlling his team with the whip and a single rein to one of the leaders—a steady pull meaning turn to the

left, and a smart twitch of the line, to the right. The mules soon took to their duties, and when the wagons were in train, they would follow the leading wagon with such persistency that nothing short of a fight could turn a single wagon out of the line. We fitted out, also, many horse teams and amongst them were many good animals, which on reaching the army could be used as cavalry or artillery horses. At all times there were horses in the sheds, used as stables, which myself and other clerks could ride at intervals of leisure. Captain Ralston of course had his own horse, and I had one appropriated to my own use. This horse was a bright bay with black legs, mane and tail. He was purchased of a returning volunteer of Marshall's regiment from Kentucky, having served through the year's campaign and had been in the battle of Buena Vista. Though very poor and "run down" by the long journey, he soon picked up and became a very handsome and serviceable animal, and I had many a long ride on him which proved his endurance and spirit. I found that the injury to my knee did not interfere with my riding on horseback, and I used my opportunities to explore the neighboring country which in many directions had great attractions to the lover of beautiful streams and forest scenery. The head waters of the San Antonio river were remarkable in this respect, and also as a geological curiosity. Amid a dense and almost impenetrable forest, encumbered with rocks and precipices, was a long and narrow strip of water, still, and of an opalescent green color from its great depth—reflecting the live oaks and other trees growing on its margin draped in Spanish moss, its width varying from one hundred and fifty feet, to places where you could cross it on a foot log. I was never able to penetrate to the fountain head of the river, but a road passed 'round it, without crossing water, within about four miles of San Antonio. The main spring must have been in the bottom of the part above described, as but few springs were noted on the banks and the flow of the river was copious from that point, and during my long stay in San Antonio, was unchanged in volume to any notable extent, although the seasons were very dry.

I had an adventure near the upper part of the river in which I came near losing my horse. I had tried to ford the river, but at the opposite side the water being deep and the bank steep, I slipped off my horse to enable him to get out. I easily got on shore, but the horse instead of landing, turned down the stream partly swimming and partly wading, according to the depth. I followed on the bank, making my way with much difficulty through the thicket. At last the horse trying to land on the opposite side became embraced by logs and the depth of water, so to help him I had to swim the river, and I found him against a vertical bank in water up to his neck, apparently chilled, and without hope of getting out. With much difficulty I succeeded in leading him 'round to a place where he could get out, on which event he made his gratitude and delight evident in his own way.

In the other direction I followed the course of the river downwards, finding scenes of great beauty, with numerous waterfalls and rapids, parts of the adjoining bottom lands being cultivated. The magnificent

pecan trees added not a little to its attractions. I visited again the several Mission churches before described, and completed my drawings of them.

Several times we rode out to Castroville, a German settlement about twenty-eight miles west of San Antonio, and partook of the hospitality of its founder, Mr. Castro.

A longer trip which I made on horseback alone was to Austin, ninety miles distant. I accomplished the distance in a day and a half, both in going and returning, without distressing my horse, although the weather was very warm. There had been recent rains at the head waters, and consequently most of the streams I had to cross were very high, but "Buena Vista" was an excellent horse in the water, either wading or swimming. On the journey out, after riding about sixty miles, I stopped for the night at a solitary farm house on an open prairie. They gave me a bed in a detached log house which appeared to have been used as a general store room. My horse was tied outside, and to keep watch that he was not interfered with, and also on the account of the heat, I had to keep the door wide open. I had four hundred dollars in gold in my pockets to carry to Austin, whither I was going on important business of the department, the safety of which sum caused me some anxiety. But no disturbance occurred till about daybreak, when my room began to be invaded by the various domestic animals of the farm as they successively awoke from their slumbers. Finally a goat entered, and, in attempting to reach some vegetables on an upper shelf, produced a crash, which put an end to my further sleep and I arose and after a hearty breakfast, resumed my journey. Between the streams the country was prairie land, with a rich black soil, differing much from the generally sterile uplands near San Antonio. In some places where the mud had been plowed up by wagon wheels in the spring, the road ran between dense rows of tall sunflowers. The streams which crossed my course and their wooded bottom lands were very beautiful, especially the Comal near New Braunfels, which had much of the character of the San Antonio. The Colorado being a much larger river than the others, was crossed in a scow ferry a few miles below Austin, which place I soon reached. Austin at that time, though the capital of Texas, was but an inconsiderable place with few attractions but its site, which was commanding. Above it the country was wild and hilly, and between the elevations the river broke through in a broad and turgid stream. It was then high, and in fording the river near the city it was so deep that my horse swam for some distance. In the vicinity were some remarkable springs rising from the bottom of deep pools, one of which was about twenty feet deep, and though a good swimmer, I failed to reach the bottom. Having concluded my business, in a few days I returned to San Antonio by the same route, passing the night at New Braunfels, a thriving German settlement, contrasting favorably with Mexican or Texan towns I had seen.

The climate of Western Texas is very dry, at least such was my experience while at San Antonio, during which time I do not remem-

ber more than three or four thoroughly wet days. Most of the time the sky cloudless, with a hot sun, but seldom without sufficient breeze to modify the heat. The nights were cool, and the evenings the pleasantest part of the day. The winters were mild and I have bathed in the river in midwinter without discomfort. There was actually such long continued fine weather that we became tired of it, and longed for a rainy day for a change and to lay the dust. The most unpleasant feature in the winter climate is the "Norther," which comes on with so little warning that there is no time to prepare for it, and the chill occasioned by the sudden fall of temperature is very trying to man or beast who is unfortunately exposed to its blast, when no shelter is at hand. Once when riding a few miles south of the town, in a warm sunny afternoon, a black cloud was noticed rising like a curtain in the northern horizon. We at once turned our horses towards home, but before long we were met by the most violent Norther I had yet experienced. The horses could hardly be made to face the storm of wind loaded with dust and sand that rushed upon us, and we had to use the spur freely in order to reach our quarters before we were chilled to the bone. At the coming of this same storm a man was in the river bathing, when seeing his clothes fly away, he emerged in chase of them. He soon had a coat of sand on his back, which adhered in his damp condition.

In the seasons referred to, crops planted on the uplands generally failed in consequence of the drought, and it was only where irrigation could be resorted to that a return for the labor expended could be expected. The system of irrigation introduced by the founders of the several Missions on the banks of the San Antonio, were no doubt copied from the practice of agriculture in Old Spain, and were well adapted to the needs of this region; but much of its value is attributable to the extraordinary constancy in the volume of the stream. A slight dam thrown across the river was sufficient to turn a part of its current into a line of ditches, so laid out as to embrace between itself and the river as much land as the elevation of the land would permit. By arrangement among the tillers of the bottom land so inclosed, each was allowed to turn the water on to his land on certain days, and by a suitable arrangement of other water courses the whole or any part of his land was saturated with moisture from time to time. The plows used by the Mexicans were without improvement on the pattern known from time immemorial—made from the fork of a tree, one prong left long enough to be lashed to the yoke, which itself is lashed to the heads of the oxen, the other prong being cut short and pointed and sometimes tipped with iron. With this rude instrument the soil was stirred to the average depth of about three inches, and thanks to the means of irrigation good crops were raised.

The resident society of San Antonio was not large, and there were many classes among them. The Mexican population were of many shades and color, according to the proportion of Spanish blood infused into the original dark skinned race. Those who were white, or nearly so, held aloof from association with the deeper colored; and with the American race, whom they probably looked on in the light

of their conquerors, their intercourse was reserved and far from cordial. Some of the senoritas were pretty, but without much life or expression, and they were kept in such close seclusion, as was but prudent in that community, that we saw but little of them. Manchac, Navarro, Roderiguez, and like old Spanish names were among the residents; and one old Mexican was said to have, in his youth, belonged to LaFitte's band of pirates, and was at the battle of New Orleans. They lived in the stone houses such as I have before described, having few external attractions, and the interior of such as I saw were bare and destitute of modern comforts.

The lower class Mexicans lived in adobe houses, or in those built with upright posts, stopped between with mud and thatched with tule grass, with rawhide for beds, as well as other furniture. The small children ran about in all weather stark naked, in which condition they, as well as the hairless Mexican dogs, enjoy a partial exemption from fleas, which find no harborage on their persons, though abounding in their surroundings. The principal occupations of the men were those connected with horses, mules or cattle, and we employed many as herders, or in the stables or yards—besides others with their ox teams. They show much skill in reducing wild cattle and mustangs to obedience, but their methods are cruel, and when a horse is subdued by them his spirit is gone and there seems to be no motive for his actions, but abject fear and compulsion. The children take at an early age to the oppression of animals and practice with a lasso on a hen or duck until they are big enough to torment something larger. Many of the Mexicans in these parts were peons who had escaped from compulsory service for debt from the Haciendas on the other side of the Rio Grande. In exchange for these, however, many negro slaves crossed that boundary into Mexico, both parties being in search for a land of freedom. For this reason few slaves were brought to Western Texas, where chances of escape were so open to them.

There were but few families of America settled permanently at that time in the place, though there was a considerable population of traders and other business men brought there by the exigencies of the times. However, we made a few pleasant acquainfances, and would now and then spend an evening, or attend a little dance. We used, also, to ride out to visit families residing in ranches on the margins of some of the beautiful streams in the neighborhood, and we spent many pleasant afternoons in this manner. I call these places "ranches" for want of a better name, being more like temporary camps than permanent residences. They were mostly built of rough posts like the Mexican jakels and seemed to be occupied only for some temporary purpose, or until time, funds or opportunity was convenient to build a better residence. The ladies residing in them would endeavor to conceal their deficiencies and rough points by a tasteful arrangement of draperies, and disposition of the furniture, and a frequent substitute for a plastered ceiling was a cotton cloth stretched from wall to wall and caught up in the center.

After peace was concluded with Mexico, several companies of United States infantry were sent to San Antonio, and they encamped near the Saluda creek. We rode to the camp occasionally, and were politely received by the officers and their ladies.

In the fall of 1848 a party was fitted out for the purpose of exploring the country between San Antonio and that part of the Rio Grande which divides Texas from the Mexican State of Chihuahua, and ascertain if a practicable wagon road could be laid out on a course about due west from the former place. General Wool's army was, it was understood, at first designed to invade Chihuahua in this direction, but not being able to learn anything, or at least any good of the character of the country to be crossed, this route was prudently abandoned in favor of the line of march pursued into Mexico direct. From one of the party who was sent from our office in charge of the United States property we had been authorized to supply for the purposes of the expedition, I learned a few particulars which were altogether ommitted from a report made to the Secretary of War, by Colonel J. C. Hayes, who led the expedition, in which report he professed to have discovered a practicable road. The direct course pursued on the outward trip soon led them into a country utterly barren, and devoid of water. On reaching the Pecos river it took the party a whole day to find a passage down the sides of the canon to the bed of the stream, and the track upwards was almost equally difficult. I do not remember the time it took to reach the Rio Grande, but it was a period of severe and long suffering. The scarcity of forage was so great that many of the horses and mules were broken down and lost by starvation — besides those which had to be sacrificed to feed the starving travellers.

No game worthy of the name could of course be found in a region destitute of herbage, but my informant said that he had partaken of twenty-six different kinds of animal food while on this journey, a bill of fare which included, besides mules and mustangs, lizards, insects, rattlesnakes, etc. One of the party whose stomach turned against such diet grew insane with hunger and thirst, and ran away from the party several times, and finally eluding their search was heard of no more. The road said to have been discovered was found on the return journey, it was zig zag in course and many miles out of the direct line (see report of Colonel Hayes) and for the most part was well known previously. It turned out that an ulterior object of the expedition was to give opportunity to some speculators to locate some of the best lands bordering on the Rio Grande which they succeeded in doing; but on the return, one of the land sharks outwitted the rest by bribing some Indians who accompanied the expedition as scouts to guide him by a short cut to Austin, where he recorded in his own name the choice of the claims, in advance of his fellows.

In November, 1848, Captain Ralston was relieved of his duties as quartermaster at San Antonio, by Captain M. Morris, A. Q. M.— U. S. A., and for several weeks we were very busy in turning over the property in our hands to him, and in settling up our business at the post. Our intercourse with Captain Morris and his clerk, Mr. Berrier, both officially and socially, was pleasant and agreeable.

My brother, who was desirous of attending a medical course at St. Louis during the winter, left us early in the fall; and preferring to travel overland, with a companion also going home to Quincy, Ill., they purchased mules, and prepared outfit for the trip, each having a mule to ride and another to carry his luggage.

Having completed preparations for our own departure, our farewells to the friends we had made, and those who had been associated with us in carrying on the business of the department as employés and otherwise, were accompanied with many manifestations of regard and good feeling, and regret at our departure.

Our destination was Washington, D. C., to which place we were ordered for the purpose of finally closing our accounts with the departments, and with the accounting officers of the government. Our route was first to Port Lavaca, over a newly laid out road, not passing through any towns between San Antonio and Victoria, but running on a line between the Guadalupe and San Antonio rivers. We had a wagon for our baggage. Captain Ralston rode his own horse, occasionally resting himself in the wagon, and I a horse belonging to the department which I rode the entire distance, averaging forty miles the first three days, and twenty-five miles on the last. The road was a fair one, but little had been done on it beyond what nature had provided, and one evening, being belated, we had to guide our course over a prairie by the stars. The unfinished condition of the country in general was illustrated by the accommodations we were provided with. The first night's stopping place was at a lonely ranch, where a good supper and comfortable bed were provided for us; but the latter was in a new addition to the dwelling, built with upright round timbers, but unstopped between them—so that our apartment resembled a bird cage. The weather, however, was mild and we did not suffer with cold. The second night we spent in a frame house, the owner of which, trusting to the leniency of the climate, had only boarded up three sides, leaving that to the south entirely open. The third night we had a bed in a log cabin, with roof and sides not to be complained of, unless by the fastidious. But there was, alas! no floor laid on the log beams which were raised about four feet from the ground. After getting safely to bed, this circumstance would not have troubled us, but as the ground floor beneath was inhabited by a large family of pigs, clamorous for nursing at all hours of the night—our slumbers were not unbroken.

Near Port Lavaca we passed the camp of the 8th U. S. Infantry, who were then on their way to take the place of the Ranger companies, then stationed on the frontier of Western Texas.

We had a few moments interview with some of the officers, one of whom on meeting me in Springfield, Ill., twenty-three years after, remembered my face, and asked where we had met before.

On arrival at the Post we at once embarked on the fine steamer, United States, for New Orleans, but owing to a violent "Norther" which had blown the water away from the coast (it was said) there was not sufficient water on the bar of Pass Cavallo to allow the vessel to put to sea. We laid in the shallow waters of Matagorda

bay four days, having a monotonous time, excepting for the generous fare, the like of which we had not partaken of for several years. One day a party landed on one of the low sandy islands separating the bay from the Gulf of Mexico, in search of fish, numbers of which were caught by nets dragged through shallow ponds or bays, where the retreat of the fish had been cut off by the falling water. After passing the bar, two days took us to New Orleans. While at sea we had a rough time, and I was more seasick than I have ever been before or since. Perhaps the unusual good living on board had something to do with it.

This reminds me that I have said nothing of our fare while at San Antonio. Venison and wild turkeys were plenty and cheap and were our principal animal food as beef was poor and tough, and mutton scarce. The army rations made a large share of our living, and parties with whom we boarded were glad to take them in part payment, as they were worth more than the commuting price. When employing a cook and boarding ourselves, we could hang up a venison ham and cut from it our daily use—for in this dry climate it never spoiled. Milk and butter we seldom tasted, although this was a grazing country, and cattle roamed upon a thousand hills. Vegetables were little cultivated and fruits scarcely at all—private property of such nature not being much respected in the neighborhood of Texas Rangers. I understand that since that time the place has become a marvel for the abundance of flowers and fruits, which would indicate much improvement also in other respects.

At New Orleans we stayed two days in almost constant rain so that we did not see much of the city. We passed up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, enjoying the trip on the splendid river steamers and being unhindered by low water on sand bars. The Mississippi was unusually high, and at the lower part of its course almost breaking through the levees. We landed at Wheeling, Va., and from there took the stage across the Alleghany mountains, giving us some sharp experience of a northern winter, to the then terminus of the railroad, by which we reached Washington. Here we made up our final accounts, and explained such points as were objected to by the auditors. The sum of public money expended by Captain Ralston while in Texas was a very large one, besides which the property, mostly means of transportation, passing through our hands, not included in the above, was very considerable. The accounts passed a very rigid examination, and everything was finally allowed and Captain Ralston and myself were honorably discharged. While making out the papers I needed assistance, and my brother Charles then being in Boston, I invited him to come on and help me. He came, and from that time made Washington his residence. After the accounts were laid before the auditors, we had plenty of time while awaiting action, and availed ourselves of the opportunity to witness the proceedings of the House of Congress, to attend the levees of President Polk and see the sights of the Capitol, and later to witness the inauguration of General Taylor. We were introduced to many public men, and saw a number of the great men of the period: Clay, Webster, Benton, Calhoun, etc.

In Washington I met with Colonel Hughes of the engineer department, who was then preparing his report of the march of General Wool's army, and on seeing my drawings of the Mission buildings near San Antonio, desired me to make duplicates of them to have lithographed to accompany his report, which I did, besides making finished drawings from some pencil sketches by others. I was also employed by the Topographical Engineer Department to make the original drawings for a U. S. Hospital, Congress having authorized the erection of such buildings at several points on the western lakes and rivers. For these and other services I was well remunerated, and having saved the greater part of my salary as Quartermaster clerk, I returned home in April and invested my earnings to good advantage.

The knowledge and experience of the workings of the Quartermaster's Department, and its methods of accounting, which I had gained as I have described in Texas and subsequently in Washington, were to prove of a value then unanticipated in the organization and conduct of the Quartermaster's Department of the State of Illinois, upon the breaking out of the Civil war thirteen years later, when, it is believed, by the means of an efficient department, the necessities of the large numbers of volunteers furnished from our State, were well and promptly supplied.

EDWARD EVERETT.

PART IV.

OPERATIONS OF THE QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS, 1861-2.

The problem of how volunteers in unprecedentedly large numbers could have been, on a sudden call, raised and equipped for active and immediate service, in some instances without preéxisting organization even of a militia system, or any staff which could be charged with the outfit and supply of such bodies of men, is a subject to which the general reader while pursuing with intense interest the accounts of military movements and of battles fought, scarcely gives a thought —resting content, may be, with the idea "That armed men sprang from the ground" ready equipped for the fray by some such simple means as "sowing the Dragon's teeth," as is said to have been practiced on emergency in ancient times.

In some of the older states large bodies of splendidly equipped troops, with a fully organized staff and supply of material, were ready for the emergency when the call for seventy-five thousand men was made in April, 1861—and the promptitude with which such forces were brought into active service had, it is more than probable, the result of saving to the nation, its Capitol.

But how was it with States whose military organization was not so complete? As to the way other states furnished their quota of men and fitted them for the field, I am not informed; but with regard to the State of Illinois I can give some particulars which may be of interest, and show how an effective Quartermaster's Department was brought into being and accomplished its arduous labors in a manner that contributed largely to the comfort and efficiency of our men.

On the outbreak of the war the officers of the Regular Army, having had their numbers extensively depleted by the resignation of those of them who had joined in the Secession movement, were all needed to take important commands, or perform other duties requiring officers fully educated in military affairs.

The organization, equipment and supply of the volunteers therefore devolved on the several States, and such duties were and continued to be performed by officers appointed by the States, until officers of the government could be appointed to relieve them.

The militia laws of Illinois, if any there were, had been suffered to become a dead letter, and there was no organization capable of serving as a nucleus, so that the staff of supply had to be created "de novo", simultaneously with the assemblage of volunteers, and from material for the most part as new and unprepared for such duties as were the volunteers themselves, at that time, for engaging in actual war. Two or three days after the call for troops had been made, and responded to largely from Quincy, Ill., where I then resided, the writer, with many others, repaired to Springfield, the State Capitol, and the rendezvous for the six regiments called for, to assist if our services were required. All there was in great confusion and excitement. Volunteers were arriving in numbers largely in excess of the call of the President, in general without having made any provision whatever for their own shelter, sustenance and comfort, and clamorous for food, blankets and other necessities of a camp life. Officers, apparently self-constituted, were riding to and fro, giving orders, making purchases, and issuing articles to the assembling volunteers at the State Fair Grounds, about two miles from Springfield. These gentlemen did good and necessary service in providing food and shelter for the large bodies of men rapidly arriving, and in gathering from neighborhood stores all the blankets, cooking utensils, etc., they could find, and issuing them, somewhat indiscriminately, to the men. But in the haste and confusion which reigned, no record of where the articles came from was made, nor was there anything to show where they went to. The result was, that the large business done in those few days never could be cleared up; and also showed the necessity of system and method.

At the State House the Governor and other State officials were endeavoring to organize the several departments by the appointment of efficient individuals as their chief officers. J. B. Wyman was appointed Adjutant General; Hon. John Wood, Quartermaster General, and John Williams, Commissary General of Subsistence.

Upon my arrival I was at once engaged by Ex-Governor Wood to assist in the organization of his department, he being aware that I had served for a period of over two years, during and subsequent to the Mexican War, as chief clerk to an officer of the Quartermaster's Department stationed at San Antonio, Texas, who forwarded supplies to General Wool's army, and was also charged with the supply of Quartermaster and Ordnance stores to the troops stationed on the whole northwestern frontier of Texas; in which service I had become conversant with the needs and modes of supply of troops, and familiar with the army rules and regulations, and with the system of accounts therein prescribed; and being the only one present possessed of such information, my powers were at once put to the test in reducing the chaos, which existed, to order.

To give some idea of the nature and magnitude of the duties performed by our department, I make some extracts from a report made in February, 1862—following one of the Adjutant General's department dated December 10, 1861, in which latter it was shown that up to that date the State of Illinois had furnished to the General Army:

Infantry	46,429
Cavalry	12,416
Artillery	1,695
Total number of men	60,540

"Of this force — exceeding at least *four times* the whole army of the United States in time of peace, and outnumbering the force at any one time in the field during the Mexican war, not less than *three-fourths* of the whole have been clothed and equipped by this department, both as respects their outfit, and to a great extent their subsequent supplies. The articles supplied to the troops by this department consisted of clothing, blankets, tents, camp equipage, accoutrements, equipments, books and stationery, and horse equipments, forges, tools, horse medicines, etc., for cavalry and artillery.

"In addition to the duties properly appertaining to the quartermaster's department, those of the ordnance department have devolved upon it, in the absence of any separate ordnance officer * *

* The aggregate amount of purchases made by the department was *$3,714,122.36*. In the transaction of this immense business the rules and regulations of the United States army have been adhered to as closely as circumstances would permit; vouchers have been taken for all transactions in the prescribed forms; and the property which has come into the hands of the department will be fully accounted for."

The legislature which had been called together in extra session, on the outbreak of hostilities, authorized the appointment of three commissioned officers for the quartermaster's department, viz: Quartermaster general with the rank of colonel, at a salary of $8.00 per day, and two assistants, ranking respectively as lieutenant colonel and major, the first at $6.00 per day, and the second at $5.00 per day.

John Wood, of Quincy, Ill., the chief of our department, was a man of striking character, hardy and energetic, with a physical constitution seemingly indefatigable. He had been one of the first pioneer settlers of Quincy, where he had secured several quarter sections of land, which subsequently became portions of that flourishing city. The sale of parts of this tract in lots has been a source of great wealth to him, but his extravagance in buildings and otherwise, and reckless loans and obligations incurred on account of his relations and friends, squandered his means, so that in hard times when lots could not be sold he was in straightened circumstances. He has given largely to public charities, and was deservedly popular with his fellow townsmen, and had frequently held the office of mayor. He had served in the legislature and had been elected Lieutenant Governor under Governor Bissell, who dying soon after, the Governorship had been filled by him for the remainder of the term, with general satisfaction. He had also been a member of the peace congress held just before the war, to endeavor to avert, by conciliation, the threatened secession. A body which he used frequently to refer to as the "Old Grannies' Convention" whose labors came to nought. His early education had been very deficient, but his information was varied and extensive. I never saw him write anything but his signature, and that

was not always very legible, but he read aloud well, in clear sonorous tones, and not infrequently business was considerably impeded by his habit of sitting in the middle of the office reading aloud the exciting news of the day, or telling stories of his adventures and experience during his chequered life; and of his expeditions to the seat of war in Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee. Nevertheless his appointment to the position of Quartermaster General of the State was eminently a good one. His well-known character inspired respect, his colloquial powers were of great service in bringing down contractors to their lowest terms, and his judgment was good in selecting articles and making purchases. His energy for action was an example of promptitude to his subordinates, while his probity frowned down indications of corruption which not infrequently presented themselves from contractors and others who swarmed around us, seeking for advantageous bargains.

On the other hand, in systematic business he was like a child, knowing nothing of accounts, and reckless of responsibilities he might incur. His zeal in conducting the business for the first few months was highly praiseworthy, but did not hold out after the more active demands of the service began to slake; or rather the attention of his ardent temperament was naturally diverted from the dry details of settling up, and turning over accumulated supplies to United States Quartermasters, to the more congenial occupation of witnessing the prosecution of the war in the field — for which his position, and acquaintance with officers of high rank afforded him many opportunities.

Our first assistant, a young gentleman from the business circles of Chicago, was stationed at Cairo, as being the most important point for the supply of the volunteers who were mostly sent there as soon as ready for service. He seemed disposed to make the most of his position by taking it easy in a comfortable office, with an unnecessary number of clerks. There was, however, difficulty in getting satisfactory accounts from him, and after a few months' service he was relieved, and his duties placed in the hands of an agent.

The appointment of second assistant was given to myself and I was stationed at headquarters, Springfield, Ill., and charged with the full control, under Ex-Governor Wood, of all the operations of the department through the State, having under me a large number of clerks, store-keepers, agents, mechanics, and other employés in various capacities. Being so short handed in responsible officers we were compelled to employ special agents to transact the business of the department at each of the widely separated points at which troops were to be assembled, in whose hands vast quantities of valuable property were placed for distribution. They were selected on short notice, with but slight credentials as to their capacity or integrity, and in no instance was any security for their faithful performance of their duties exacted of them. It is much to their credit that so few delinquencies were committed. A strict system of accounts was established requiring them to show vouchers for the disposition of all articles placed in their hands, and giving them to understand that they would be held responsible for all losses or deficiences not satisfactorily accounted for.

The duties assigned to me embraced the voluminous correspondence of the office, drawing up contracts, examination and certifying of bills and vouchers, making occasional reports of our operations to the State and U. S. authorities; the instruction, superintendence and holding to account of the numerous clerks, agents, etc., together with attending to applications and demands of officers of the volunteers, who were alike ignorant of what they were entitled to, and of how to make application for what they wanted. And most of this business was done in a crowded office, in which loud talking and confusion frequently prevailed, and was often, especially during the first few months, continued till late in the night.

The six regiments first called for by the President from this State assembled within a few days at the rendezvous; and soon after, wisely foreseeing the approaching necessity, the Legislature authorized the formation of ten other regiments, in readiness for another call. These were supplied with the essential articles, such as tents, blankets, and camp equipage, as rapidly as the articles could be obtained. For clothing more time was required for its production, and contracts were made for clothing, shoes and other articles, without unnecessary delay. The sudden and enormous demand for clothing materials soon emptied the markets, and although but a short time elapsed before more were manufactured or imported, the delay seemed unwarrantably long to many a volunteer who had left his home in poor or insufficient apparel. The clothing at first supplied was somewhat heterogeneous in kind and color, as we had to take what could be had, but after the first rush the uniform of the U. S. army was universally adopted. It was a wise economy, as well as to the merits of the volunteers to provide them with an outfit of the best quality, and so satisfactory were these supplies to the troops that many regiments continued to send their requisitions to our department from distant fields of service.

The great want, felt to be a very serious one, at the outbreak of the war, particularly in the western states, was that of arms and ammunition. At that time Cairo, at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, was in a defenseless condition, and it was feared that the rebels would get possession of it before troops properly armed and equipped, could be sent for its defence. Its possession would have given the rebels command of those rivers as well as of the Cumberland and Tennessee, and it would have been very difficult to dislodge them. The importance of an early occupation of that point was therefore apparent. In this emergency a large supply of arms and ammunition was secured, at the same time depriving the rebels of what they deemed securely within their grasp, by a stratagem, which as it may not be generally known. I will give as I remember the circumstances.

It was known that a large number of Enfield rifles and other arms, and also a considerable quantity of ammunition were stored at Jefferson barracks, a few miles below St. Louis, which city was then held by a large force of secessionists under Jackson, governor of Missouri, who were only waiting till they were ready, to pounce upon

the arms alluded to. Three or four individuals, whose names I do not now recall, having consulted with Governor Yates, arranged a plot, which was executed as follows:

They went quietly to St. Louis and there chartered a fast Alton packet boat and started *up* the river, and before getting out of sight of the city they made believe that the boat was disabled by some breakage of the machinery, and as they drifted helplessly down with the current past the city, they sent word ashore that they were going to float down to the repair shops at the barracks, as was usual for boats in such condition to do. This disarmed suspicion, and the boat landed at the barracks, where all had been arranged for the occasion. Guards were posted at the gates to prevent egress of any who might give information. Men were on hand with trucks, who in an incredibly short time ran the arm and ammunition chests on board the steamer, together with several pieces of artillery. The boat then, with a full head of steam, to be used in the event of a race being necessary, ran up the river and passed St. Louis without exciting suspicion of what her cargo consisted, and reached Alton, about twenty miles above. There the arms, etc., were landed and at once placed on a train of cars in waiting for them, with a loaded cannon pointed to the rear to repel pursuit if attempted. Within a few hours this precious freight was received by us in Springfield. It consisted of 21,000 stand of new Enfield rifles, with a full supply of equipments and ammunition, several field pieces and other arms. Without the delay of a single day enough of these rifles were issued to arm the six regiments then assembled, the greater part of which body, being otherwise in a tolerable state of preparation, were at once despatched to Cairo. Of the remainder of the rifles, several thousand each were shipped to neighboring states, who like our own had but few, if any, serviceable arms available for the emergency.

In view of further call for troops and the necessity for their armament, agents were set to work to hunt up and collect arms belonging to the State, which had been issued in past times to amateur soldiers, or to those who had been called out to suppress Mormon disturbances. These arms were scattered over the State and consisted of old fashioned muskets, rifles, and pistols with flint locks, generally in bad order; also some sabres and a number of pieces of artillery. To put these in serviceable order, and furnish them with ammunition, work shops and laboratories were improvised, in which the small arms were repaired and their flintlocks altered to percussion; and up to the date of the report before referred to, 4,618,000 rounds of ammunition for small arms and 32,570 rounds of fixed ammunition (namely round shot, canister, and shell) had been manufactured. Large quantities of arms and ordnance materials were also purchased by the State and were received and issued to the troops throughout our department.

The Legislature had provided for the appointment of an Auditing Commission by the Governor, consisting of three gentlemen, who were to audit all bills accruing on the part of the State from matters pertaining to the war. The first and most prominent of these gentlemen had acted in some capacity in the Black Hawk war in 1832, and

having taken up the idea that accounting for the present business should be done after the style pursued in that somewhat irregular campaign, he opposed a more systematic and less antiquated method; or rather he assumed to ignore the mode prescribed in the regulations of the U. S. army, and adopt a system of his own. This gentleman took upon himself the principal share of the duties of his office, and is entitled to great credit for the industry with which he devoted himself to the task. The second was a Democratic editor, whose services as an auditor were not very apparent, but he seemed to take pleasure in thwarting the efforts of others to facilitate business. The third commissioner only appeared now and then, when his presence could not be dispensed with. This commission received the bills certified by our department, had them copied and consolidated with other bills due to the same parties, and gave warrants on the Treasurer for their payment. This process destroyed the identity of the vouchers and their correspondence with the property accounts of our department. Indeed they ignored property accounts altogether, contenting themselves with looking into bills for purchases and other expenditures, without troubling themselves to examine further into the disposition of the articles so purchased, or whether they were properly applied or otherwise. My experience with army accounts had shown that the slightest irregularity in money or property accounts were looked into with microscopical exactitude by the Auditing Department at Washington, and any discrepancy was, until corrected or explained, charged to the officer. I had no reason to believe but that our transactions would be as closely scrutinized when the final settlement was made with the United States, and had accordingly prepared vouchers to account for all the vast amount of property which passed through our hands; from which full and regular property returns could have been made up, had I been permitted to do so. The final settlement with the Government was made by others, I supposed, on the presumption that all that was paid for was expended legitimately for our volunteers.

In the spring of 1862 our department was relieved by officers commissioned by the United States, and the Quartermaster's and other property remaining in our hands was turned over to them.

One object in the foregoing sketch has been to call attention to those laborers, who though not technically in the *field*, are essential to the formation and maintenance of an army, and without whose services any number of fighting men would prove unserviceable and impotent. The departments of supply seldom receive the consideration and credit to which they are entitled. When, however, movements have been delayed, or a victorious army has been unable to pursue the enemy, the Quartermaster or Subsistence officers are generally remembered in the reports, and are required to bear an undue proportion of the blame. Napoleon's favorite remedy for occasional failures of his army was to hang a commissary now and then. But, when all goes well in the theatre of war, but little is thought of those actors whose part may lie behind the scenes. EDWARD EVERETT,

Major and Asst. Q. M. Gen. of Illinois.

EARLY HISTORY

OF THE

DRUG TRADE OF CHICAGO

Compiled from the records of the Chicago Veteran Druggists Association by

ALBERT E. EBERT, Historian

Continued from page 274 of the Publication No. 8 of the

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1903

EARLY HISTORY OF THE DRUG TRADE OF CHICAGO.

In continuing our history of the early drug trade of Chicago, we have reached the forties. The village of Chicago has become a city, and the new-born municipality is forging ahead in its phenomenal increase in population and in the erection of modern buildings, in spite of the depressed financial conditions which ensued from the crisis of 1837. This prosperity, however, did not follow the drug business, for we find that of the seven firms of the thirties, but four, viz: Philo Carpenter, Clark & Co., L. M. Boyce and Dr. Sidney Sawyer, have weathered the financial storm. We find that they left their former locations and followed the shifting of the business center from South Water street to Lake street.

In the thirties business had centered about the forks of the river, this being the intersection of Market, South Water and Lake streets. As business spread it went east on South Water street to Dearborn, then south on Dearborn to Lake street, when it again proceeded west on Lake street toward the forks of the river from whence it had started.

The modern buildings were being located on Lake street. Thomas Church had erected a three-story brick building on this street, just east of Dearborn. The first big fire of Chicago, which occurred October 29, 1839, laid waste the district from Dearborn street on the north side of Lake street, nearly to Clark street, destroying some seventeen buildings, with a loss of nearly $100,000. This space was rebuilt in the early forties and became at once the fashionable shopping center. The drug store of Clark & Co. was located in the Tremont building, No. 102 Lake street, and Dr. S. Sawyer moved his drug store to 124 Lake street, near the corner of Clark street, while the saloon building, No. 113 Lake street, became the home of L. M. Boyce's drug store.

Philo Carpenter came from South Water street, leaving his own property for rent, and located in William Wheeler's building at 143 Lake street, where he opened what was known as the "checkered drug store," the front of the building being laid off in squares, painted in red, white and black. From the foregoing we see that at the opening of the forties all of the drug stores were grouped together on Lake street within a block of each other.

At this time a new drug store came on the scene, that of O. H. Perry Champlain, whose advertisement appeared in the *Daily American* of June 13, 1841, in which he respectfully announces to the people of Chicago that he is a druggist and apothecary lately from Buffalo, N. Y., and has opened a new drug store as "Champlain's Cheap Drug Store," in the saloon building at 35 Clark street, next door to the postoffice, where he offers to the public his services in the preparing and dispensing of drugs and medicines from a complete fresh stock at the very lowest prices. "Special attention is given to physicians' prescriptions."

For how long a time this newcomer followed the profession and practiced the art of pharmacy, or to what extent he was appreciated and patronized by the people of Chicago, we are unable to find any record. However, the following may throw some light upon what became of the stock and fixtures of the Champlain store, as about this time Dr. William B. Egan, a practicing physician, a politician, an extensive dealer in Chicago real estate and a public character among the early settlers of the city, engaged in putting up Dr. Egan's Sarsaparilla Panacea, and advertised its sale at his city drug store on the west side of Clark street, north of the City Hotel (Sherman House) and next door to the postoffice." The postoffice had been removed from the saloon buildings on the east side of Clark street to the west side of Clark street, on the southwest corner of the alley between Randolph and Lake streets. This advertisement of Dr. Egan extolling the virtues of his sarsaparilla and certified to by Dr. Chas. V. Dyer, L. D. Boone and J. J. Stewart, appeared in the *Chicago Express* of October 24, 1842, while in the same issue appeared an advertisement of Bristol's Sarsaparilla, with Dr. Sidney Sawyer, 124 Lake street, as sole wholesale and retail agent, and "denouncing unscrupulous persons for pirating his (Bristol's) rights to the patent, and the counterfeiting the name of the King of Medicine 'Sarsaparilla' as originally introduced to suffering humanity by C. C. Bristol, of Buffalo, N. Y."

If we may divert, we wish briefly to say, that judging from the above advertisement we see that the nostrum manufacturer of early days possessed the same acumen and resorted to the same exaggerated claims for originality of discovery and virtues for his concoctions as is practiced by his descendant of the present day. It is a well known fact that sarsaparilla had been introduced into European Medicine by the Spaniards shortly after the discovery of America; that at the time it acquired considerable reputation as a blood purifier; that it soon fell into disrepute; that at various times thereafter it was again revived and as often declared inert. However, it is a fact that Bristol was the founder of what is known as the "Sarsaparilla Era," for it was his propaganda of the miraculous cures performed by his sarsaparilla that made this medicine famous through the Eastern States during the thirties, and in the early forties he established an agency for its sale in Chicago when Champlain, who hailed from Buffalo, opened a drug store here. It was customary to place patent medicines with firms only on com-

mission. During the thirties, the more saleable proprietaries, like Brandrith's pills, Morrison's pills, Holloway's ointment and pills, were only sold at the bookstores. This changed in the forties and we find that the druggists of this date became generally the agents. When Champlain discontinued business, which must have been about October, 1842, the agency of Bristol's sarsaparilla was turned over to Dr. Sawyer, and while Dr. Egan succeeded to the stock and fixtures of the Champlain store he did not succeed to the agency of the Bristol's sarsaparilla, and this induced Dr. Egan to put up his own sarsaparilla, reference to which has been made.

The Egan store which bore the name of the "City Drug Store" located at 54 Clark street, was carried on for several years by Dr. Wm. B. Egan and his brother, Charles B. Egan, when it was moved to Dr. Egan's property, 76 East Lake street, where it was managed by Francis Stead until 1846, when the stock and fixtures again were moved westward, locating on Randolph street, northwest corner of Market street, the back end of the store fronting on the river. An advertisement in the weekly Democrat of February 24, 1846, reads as follows: "Dr. Norman, lately from England, has associated himself with Dr. Wm. B. Egan in the practice of medicine and will be found at Dr. Egan's Drug Store, near Randolph Street bridge. At the store will be found Dr. Egan's Sarsaparilla which is prepared with great care by himself. Also Dr. Norman's Medicamentum, which as a tonic and aperient medicine has no equal in bilious derangement and chronic debility. Prescriptions carefully and elegantly put up." The following year, 1847, Dr. Henry Ritchie from Lexington, Ky., came to Chicago and purchased the Egan store and continued the business under the firm name of Dr. Henry Ritchie, at the same time continuing the practice of medicine.

In the early part of 1848, at the suggestion of L. M. Boyce, he made a proposition to Henry Bowman, a former clerk of Boyce, at that time clerking in Waukegan. As a result Mr. Bowman and Dr. Ritchie went into partnership. On Jan. 27, 1848, the store was moved to 133 Lake street, the firm name being H. Bowman & Co. Here the store continued until the summer of 1851, when some of the stock was destroyed by a fire which started in the Lake Street House, next door. The salvage was moved to 117 Randolph, one door west of Clark street, under the Sherman House, and here the store was re-established. The partners not agreeing, Henry Bowman withdrew and Dr. Ritchie continued the store alone. In the Chicago Daily Democrat of Nov. 18, 1851, appeared a card saying, "that owing to loss from the recent fire in which the Bowman & Co. drug store was destroyed, Dr. Ritchie had been obliged to resume the drug business, but hopes that his friends will not suppose that the supervision of one important branch of medicine need incapacitate him from doing justice to a higher part of the science — the practice."

The following is another one of Dr. Ritchie's advertisements:

"Drugs, Medicines, Chemicals, Perfumery and Fancy Articles. Dr. Ritchie has just finished opening at his store under the Sherman House an entire new and fresh stock of Drugs, Medicines, &c. Nov. 4, 1851. H. Ritchie."

Dr. Ritchie continued the drug business and the practice of medicine until 1858, when he sold the store to Thomas Hyte who continued the same until 1861 and sold it to F. H. Thayer, who moved the store onto the corner; the following year it passed into the possession of Harrall Resley and Kitchen, wholesale druggists of New York City, who turned it over to John Parker who in turn sold it to J. B. Starkweather in 1864, who carried it on for a year under the Sherman House and then moved the stock and fixtures to Kenosha, Wis., where it is still in existence.

DRUG REMINISCENCES BY HENRY BOWMAN, OF SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

In the Fall of 1848 I left the employ of L. M. Boyce and engaged as clerk with N. T. Cody, of Waukegan, Ill. In the spring of 1849, Dr. Henry Ritchie, of Chicago, wrote to me that Mr. Boyce had recommended me to him as a desirable partner for his drug store, located at Randolph Street bridge. I at once came to Chicago, called upon Mr. Boyce, and told him that I did not consider the Randolph street location a good one for the drug store, and asked him if he would have any objection to my coming onto Lake street and thereby becoming a competitor of his. He not only had not, but advised me to take the very location that I had picked out, saying that he intended to do as far as possible an exclusive wholesale business, and that he would be pleased to have me as a neighbor.*

I had never before met Dr. Ritchie but found him a very pleasant man to do business with, and without much difficulty a partnership was formed under the firm name of H. Bowman & Co., I to have the sole management of the drug business and he to devote his time to the practice of medicine. We moved the stock and fixtures from Randolph street down to 133 Lake street, into a frame building previously occupied by H. H. Yates as a grocery store. We fitted up the storeroom quite nicely and conveniently and did a good prescription business from the start. I was the first in Chicago to introduce bound prescription blanks with the physician's name and address and stubs to them. Over the store was a Dr. Bacheldor who kept Thompsonian and botanic medicines; and around the corner on Clark street, upstairs, Drs. Duck and Ritchie were associated in the practice of medicine. The store was about sixty feet deep, there was a rise of two steps to the rear twenty feet. There was a back stairs to reach the secndo story from the yard, which was in the rear of the adjoining hotel (the

*Henry Bowman was born in Montreal, Canada, in 1823, came to Chicago in the summer of 1841; he entered the employ of L. M. Boyce, 113 Lake street in the fall of 1845, remaining until the fall of 1848, when he formed a partnership with Dr. Henry Ritchie under the firm name of H. Bowman & Co., opening a retail drug store, 133 Lake street, where he was burned out in 1851. He then removed to California, entering in the drug business in Sacramento and remaining there twenty-one years. He then removed to Oakland, Cal., where he is actively engaged at the present time. His contributions to the records of the Chicago Veteran Druggists association are extensive and very valuable, having personally known the pioneers of the '30s and '40s, who were engaged in the business. Mr. Edwin O. Gale was an apprentice of Mr. Bowman.

Lake Street House, kept by Aiken). A barn was there and teamsters drove into the yard from Clark street. It was in this barn that the fire originated that burned out our store in 1851. By the fire I lost my moneyed interest in the firm. I bargained with Dr. Ritchie for his interest in what was saved, and fitted up another store at 117 Randolph street, under the Sherman House.

After it was fitted up he demanded security on my notes. I could have given it, but I concluded I did not want the business and told him to take the store, and he took it and carried it on until 1858, when he disposed of it. I came on to California and have been here ever since, never regretting that I did not carry on the drug business in Chicago.

Charles N. Ellinwood was clerking for me when I gave up the store. He came to California and has been for many years a professor of physiology in Cooper Medical College. He was at one time surgeon of the San Francisco United States Marine Hospital. He has recently been appointed one of the regents of the State University at Berkeley and has a large practice. He and Edwin O. Gale were with me at the same time in Chicago and were good clerks and good boys.

I will here give a description of the interior arrangements of the H. Bowman & Co.'s drug store, at 133 Lake street, from the spring of 1849 till the fall of 1851, the time of the fire:

We had the usual bay windows and show bottles, the same blue-stone and ammonia and the same cochineal and vitriol colors, same oil lamps behind them. I don't seem to remember about the bay windows of olden times except of the disagreeable duty of putting up the wooden shutters at night. I think we used camphine for lighting the store. I don't remember when gas was first introduced in Chicago. We may have used gas for lighting it. On further reflection I think we had the gas about 1850. My recollection is so mixed up with the early California experiences in these small matters that I often get a little confused. I recollect an incident that recalls the gas-light. I slept in the store. The night bell rang. I hastily dressed and lit up the store. I went to the door and no one was there. I was mad. The whole air was musical as an æolian harp with the tuneful *fa* of ten million mosquitoes. I sat down "under the gaslight," yes, it must have been *gas*, and lit a Principe cigar ("Cruz E Hijas Flor") and watched the smoke curling upwards until I was nearly "pacified," when a man came in the store, out of breath, and said he had been to every drug store in town and could not get any one up. He had commenced his second round. I told him that if he should go around again he would find the clerks all up, and swearing mad. I asked him if he supposed we slept all night with our hand on the door knob? He wanted some medicine and I gave it to him with free advice and a blessing at parting. I then sponged my face and hands with solution of camphor in 95 per cent alcohol to keep away mosquitoes, and then went to bed. I had lit up in a *hurry* and I don't remember having to light a lamp. Gas? Yes, certainly.

The drawers, counters and all the woodwork of the main store was of whitewood in its natural color, slightly darkened by age and varnish. The counters had marble tops, white Italian, in long slabs.

There were no counter show cases but large bottles of cologne, etc., on the end of the counter. On the right hand as you entered the store were the drawers and principal furniture bottles. There were four rows of drawers. Directly above these was a row of doors (glass) about twenty inches wide and fifteen inches high. These little cases had divisions between them and were shelved differently to suit the patent medicines, or perfumery, or whatever use they were put to for convenience in retailing. They opened with hinges. The top of these cases was nearly or about five feet from the floor or perhaps fifty-eight inches. There were two rows of half gallon tincture bottles (round) and two rows of quart (fluted) saltmouths. The little cases extended nearly to the end of shelving and against the wall was the prescription counter and its drawers, bottles, cupboards, etc. The scales were enclosed in a case. They had the beam and marble standard. We used green fluted vials at first and afterwards for prescriptions flint fluted; deep-nested pill boxes, black outside and red inside, tin boxes for "anguintem" and gallipots for ointments. I think, however, we had begun to use patch boxes.

The left hand side was fitted up the same as the right hand side except that there were cupboards below the show cases instead of drawers. In these we kept the larger bottles of patent medicines and the shaker herbs in packages and all sorts of goods for retailing. There was a stair case on that side and of course a jog beyond it. There was but one counter on that side and that was back a little ways. In the little cases against the stairway there were fancy wrapped French soaps in papers and cartons, the shelves placed at an incline for display. The glassware on this side consisted of one row of gallon ring jars and two rows of tall urns the whole length. All the glassware on both sides of the store was stained. There was an equal number of green, blue and red and these colors alternated all through the store. The labels on the tinctures and saltmouths were lettered on gold paper and were as brilliant as the present glass label. Of course the urns and ring jars were not labeled. Those against the stairway had showy goods in them but they did not show off to very good advantage for the color of the glass. A short counter was placed across at the end of the stairway for the soda fountain. The draught apparatus was a six-sided marble column with a single draw pipe. We used cast iron fountains with a bolted flange around the center. They were lined with wax. We had them charged for us. They required a good deal of ice which was 25 cents for 100 pounds and the addition of a little salt. The rear twenty feet of the store was fitted upon the right hand side with shelves for stock containers, mostly galenical preparations. In front of these shelves was the working counter with the working utensils, sink and storage for empty bottles. On the left side of the room were arranged two rows of barrels containing dye woods and heavy chemicals. Above these barrels were shelves for the storing of stock of bulky drugs in original packages. We carried no paints, oils or window glass, wishing to do a pure and simple retail drug and prescription business, and which, with the many friends that I had among the physicians of the city I can pride myself in saying we did.

Dr. John Brinckerhoff.

Dr. John Brinckerhoff was a physician and came to Chicago in 1836. He had an office at 40 Clark street. We find that in 1841 his office was in the second brick house on Clark street, south of Randolph street. In 1842 he opened a drug store at 170 Lake street, three doors east of the New York House. This store was opened Oct. 24, 1842. The following year he bought out Philo Carpenter at 143 Lake street. In the Daily American of Aug. 24, 1842, Dr. Brinckerhoff advertised: "Having recently opened a drug establishment at 170 Lake street, three doors east of the New York House, I have on hand a general assortment of drugs, medicines, dye stuffs, etc., etc., which will be sold for cash as low as they can be bought in the city." Dr. Brinckerhoff also advertised Resurrection or Persian Pills, Jew David or Hebrew Plasters, and Richardson & Company's Celebrated Panacea.

When Dr. Brinckerhoff bought out Philo Carpenter he associated with him Mr. Thomas B. Penton, his brother-in-law, who had been with W. H. & A. F. Clarke and Clarke & Co., as a clerk, and formed the firm of Brinckerhoff & Penton.

Brinckerhoff & Penton.

The firm did a wholesale and retail drug business at 143 Lake street until May 1, 1849, when the business was moved to the northeast corner of Lake and Dearborn streets, opposite the Tremont House (No. 94 Lake street.) In 1852 the firm advertised in the Weekly Democrat:

Wanted--1,000 pounds ....Beeswax
1,000 pounds.....Ginseng Root
500 pounds .....American Saffron
1,000 pounds.....Seneka Snake Root

For their time Brinckerhoff & Fenton were extensive retail dealers and were the first concern to carry surgical appliances to any extent.

Among the clerks of this firm we find the names of Messrs. Osborn Gamble, John M. Howard, John H. Hagaman, Samuel Kirk, Riley M. Graves, E. P. Dwyer, Henry R. Sibley and Robert Penton, a brother of Thomas B. Penton.

Brinckerhoff & Penton remained in business until 1855, when Archibald M. Robinson bought an interest in the wholesale department, the firm then consisting of Dr. Brinckerhoff, Thomas B. Penton and A. M. Robinson, and the wholesale and retail departments were separated, the former moving to 15 South Water street and doing business under the firm name of Penton & Robinson, and the retail department remaining at 94 Lake street under the firm name of Penton, Fisher & Co., consisting of Thomas B. Penton, Williamson P. Fisher and Archibald M. Robinson.

Penton & Robinson.

This firm began business as above stated at 15 South Water street, where they did a wholesale business exclusively. In 1858 the busi-

ness was moved to 39 South Water street and the firm name was changed to Penton, Robinson & Smith, Dr. Brinckerhoff having, in the meantime, retired and David Smith of the retail store coming into the wholesale firm.

It is necessary now to revert to the retail branch, Penton, Fisher & Co., which firm in 1858 was dissolved by mutual consent and on June 1 of that year were succeeded by the firm of Penton & Co., consisting of Thomas B. Penton, Archibald M. Robinson and David Smith. This company continued in business until 1860, when the business was merged with the wholesale business of Penton, Robinson & Smith, and was carried on at the old location, 94 Lake street, under the firm name of Smith & Dwyer, the firm consisting of David Smith and E. P. Dwyer.

Smith & Dwyer.

The business was continued in this location until 1862. In 1865 the firm was again changed, becoming E. P. Dwyer & Co., the partners being E. P. Dwyer, Robert Stevenson and James Boland.

E. P. Dwyer & Co.

This firm continued until 1870, when Mr. Dwyer was killed in a runaway accident and the interest of E. P. Dwyer was sold to Peter Van Schaack and W. H. Reid.

The name of the new firm became Van Schaack, Stevenson & Reid, and it continued in this style until 1877, when it became Van Schaack, Stevenson & Co.; in 1885 it became Peter Van Schaack & Sons, Robert Stevenson having withdrawn and started the firm of Robert Stevenson & Co.

The clerks of the wholesale firm of Penton & Robinson were Messrs. R. R. Ball, James Boland, Robert Stevenson, David Smith, who was the bookkeeper, and E. P. Dwyer.

J. H. Reed & Co.

The firm of J. H. Reed & Co. was famous among the drug stores of Chicago in its day and generation. It was the first store selling soda water on anything like the modern scale, the first store to burn gas for illuminating purposes, and in other ways it was famous. Before its doors during the Lincoln campaign of 1860 was a broad stone slab which had been ferried up on the canal and hauled over to the store on rollers during the night. Before it had been placed in position some nocturnal humorist secured a can of paint and when the morning dawned the owners found that their big stone slab had been christened "The Republican Platform."

The original firm was Stebbins & Reed and the members of the firm came from Auburn, N. Y., to Chicago in the latter part of 1844, stopping on their way out at Buffalo and Detroit for the purpose of noting the business opportunities in those cities. On their arrival in Chicago they secured the refusal of the store at 159 Lake street, at

the southwest corner of LaSalle street. Upon their final decision to remain in Chicago they rented this store for a period of three years at an annual rental of $675.00. This store was seventy feet long, twenty feet wide and had three stories and an attic, and in those days was considered fire proof. From space not used by them in the second and third stories the firm received an annual rental of about $250.00. The firm of Stebbins & Reed opened their store on May 20, 1845. The names of the partners were S. N. Stebbins and Josiah H. Reed. Before beginning business Mr. Stebbins became dissatisfied with Chicago and wanted to return to Buffalo. At this time Chicago had a population of about 11,000 and Buffalo was rated at about 25,000. They retraced their steps accordingly to Buffalo, but the second visit convinced Mr. Reed more firmly than ever that Chicago gave the better opportunity and in May of 1845, the Chicago store was opened for business. It prospered from the very beginning and the foundations were laid for more than one business enterprise of magnitude and success. In 1848, having a fine opportunity to go into business in New York, Mr. Stebbins sold his interest in the Chicago firm to Thomas M. Hunt and John Olmsted of Auburn, N. Y. The new firm began business April 1, 1848, under the firm name of J. H. Reed & Co., with a capital stock of $8,000 of which Mr. Reed owned one-half. In 1853 Messrs. Hunt and Olmsted sold their interest in the firm to Mr. Horace A. Hurlbut who became the company part of the concern. About the beginning of the civil war Mr. Reed removed to New York and became the resident buyer for J. H. Reed & Co. The firm had large government contracts during the war for drugs and other medicinal supplies. When, in 1868, Mr. Reed sold his drug interests in Chicago, the firm name of J. H. Reed & Co. was the oldest in Chicago.

On the 26th of October, 1851, Messrs. J. H. Reed & Co. moved their store to 144 Lake street, where they opened the finest drug store ever seen up to that time and up to the present time in Chicago. In this connection the following announcement in the Chicago Daily Democrat of Oct. 29, 1851, may be of interest:

"Splendid Store—Messrs. J. H. Reed & Co., druggists, have removed their business from their old stand at 159 Lake street to the spacious and handsome block at 144 Lake street, erected this season by Mr. J. Price. This store is fitted up in the most magnificent style with marble Mosaic floors, Italian marble counters, etc., while tastefully arranged around are statuary, vases, urns, etc. In fact, the fitting up is not excelled by that of any similar establishment in the country.

"Messrs. J. H. Reed & Co. intend doing an exclusively prescription business at their new store, the back and upper portions of the building alone being used for the wholesale trade."

In 1856 S. S Bliss, who had been the principal clerk in the retail store was taken into partnership and the store next door at 146 Lake street was added, and to this store the wholesale department was transferred. In 1863 the wholesale department was transferred to 32 Lake street at the corner of Lake street and Wabash avenue, the

retail business remaining at 144 Lake street under the name of Bliss & Sharp. In 1868 the firm of J. H. Reed & Co. was changed to Hurlbut & Edsall, Mr. Reed disposing of his entire interest.

On Sept. 7, 1858, the firm advertised for sale 1,000 pieces of the Atlantic cable, then a great curiosity. In 1859 or 1860 the members of the firm of J. H. Reed & Co. were instrumental in getting the buildings on Lake street, between Clark and LaSalle streets raised to grade. Mr. J. H. Reed was one of the original members who organized the Chicago board of trade.

During the Civil war the firm of J. H. Reed & Co. took immense government contracts for supplies. At one time over sixty men were at work on government orders in their store. Orders for 60,000 or 70,000 pills at short notice were nothing unusual. One day Mr. Reed bought 34,000 ounces of quinine in New York, expecting to sell it on government orders, which, however, were for some reason at that time transferred elsewhere, and Messrs. Reed & Co. were left with an immense quantity of supplies on their hands. When the situation was becoming very serious for them, it was found that the other dealers, who had the government contract, could get no supplies except from J. H. Reed & Co., who had cornered about all the supplies to be had; so Messrs. Reed & Co. came out more than whole after all.

During the days of the stump-tail currency, in 1857, the house of J. H. Reed & Co. took radical action regarding credits. It had been customary for wholesale merchants to give about six months' credit, but during the panic, J. H. Reed & Co. established the rule that all bills must be paid at the end of thirty days. This rule was soon adopted by wholesale merchants, to the great advantage of the business interests of the city.

Among the clerks of Stebbins & Reed and their successors were W. R. Lee, H. A. Hurlbut, W. H. Cheesman, D. R. Penton, J. A. Moore, M. B. Murphy, B. Spencer, S. S. Bliss, Henry E. Prouty, Edwin O. Gale, Porter Warner, Joseph A. Montgomery, George W. Montgomery, Robert Ainsworth, E. P. Hooker, William F. G. Benson, W. C. Childs, James Smith, Charles Heckman, Louis Hunt, Henry Strong, David L. Whittier, George C. Talman, William Langlands, William Page, Frank A. Palmer, William Ready, J. P. Sharp, George Buck, James B. Rayner, John Parsons, Frederick W. Dodge, Charles J. Hurlbut, John Hiland, John Lyon, Lucius Larrabee, C. L. Hervy, J. J. Siddall, Henry Smith, Lucius B. Cheney and James H. Hyde. George Buck was for some time with J. H. Reed & Co. and was in charge of the prescription department until 1858, when he associated himself with James B. Rayner and opened a retail and prescription store at 85 Clark street, founding the well known firm of Buck & Rayner.

John Parsons was in charge of the prescription department until January, 1863, when he left and went to New York with the intention of buying a store. Not being able to make a suitable arrangement, he returned to Chicago in May, 1863, and opened a store at 41 South Clark street. He is now located at Thirty-first street and Prairie avenue. At the time Mr. Parsons left the store it became Bliss & Sharp in the retail department, Thomas H. Thomas, an English-

man, taking charge of the prescription department. Mr. Thomas now owns a store in Rock Island, Ill. H. J. Beckwith followed Thomas and now owns and conducts a store at Thirty-first street and Wabash avenue.

F. Scammon.

Dr. F. Scammon, of Hallowell, Me., established himself in Chicago in 1846, opening a wholesale and retail drug business in the saloon buildings at 119 Lake street, where he continued until Nov. 22, 1851, when the business was moved to 140 Lake street and the firm of F. Scammon & Co. was formed, consisting of Dr. F. Scammon, L. Myrick Scammon, a brother of the doctor, and E. H. Sargent, who had come from Lowell, Mass., where he had been employed as chief clerk by the then well known firm of Carlton & Hovey, of that place.

F. Scammon & Co.

This firm continued in business until 1857, when the business was sold to Sargent & Ilsley.

Sargent & Ilsley.

E. H. Sargent, a partner in the old firm of F. Scammon & Co., and John C. Ilsley, a former clerk of Sears & Smith, made up this firm. Mr. Ilsley came to Chicago from Maine. Sargent & Ilsley, when they bought the business of F. Scammon & Co., divided it into two departments, retail and wholesale. The front of the store was fitted up very attractively for the accommodation of the retail trade, the rear portion of the first floor and the remaining three floors and basement being used for the wholesale business.

Beginning business in January, 1857, just before the financial crisis of that year, the firm began apparently under the most favorable auspices. Their retail clerks were selected by Mr. Sargent from the house of Carlton & Hovey in Lowell, Mass., and consisted of Fred E. Willis and James W. Mill, with Thomas Whitfield as assistant. The former attaches of the wholesale department remained and the firm was favored with large orders, such as the outfit order of Snyder & Dyche, at Iowa City, Ia., and by large purchases from firms locating camps in the lumber districts. The large business done by the wholesale department necessitated both the giving and receiving of extensive credits; and when the crisis of 1857 came the affairs of the firm were in a desperate situation, no one being able to collect outstanding accounts. The firm had expended all its available capital; but continued, however, until the fall of 1859, when the inevitable happened and the business was forced into liquidation. The stock and fixtures were bought by William P. Wright and James B. French, both formerly of Lowell, Mass., and they moved the stock and a part of the fixtures to the northwest corner of Randolph and State streets, where a retail drug store was fitted up, of which E. H. Sargent was placed in charge as manager. The firm was known as Wright & French.

Wright & French.

This firm continued in business until 1865, when Mr. Wright's interest was purchased by E. H. Sargent and the firm name was changed to E. H. Sargent & Co.

E. H. Sargent & Co.

The retail store of this company was one of the most prominent in Chicago and did a large prescription and general retail drug and sundries business from 1861 to 1871, when the store was destroyed in the great fire of Oct. 9. During the decade previous to the fire this firm had become well known as manufacturing pharmacists. Prior to the fire Mr. French had sold his interest to Dr. Livesey, who, in turn, in May, 1871, sold out to Mr. Sargent, so that the latter at the time of the fire was the sole owner of the business. The fire left it almost a total loss, but with about 10 per cent of the insurance (all he was able to collect), and the assistance of friends, Mr. Sargent re-established himself at the northwest corner of Wabash avenue and Sixteenth street within six months after the fire. A branch store which was started in 1868 at 612 Cottage Grove avenue was, of course, spared from the general destruction wrought by the fire. This branch store was under the management of Thomas N. Jamieson who, as a clerk, had entered the employment of Mr. Sargent at the main store June 21, 1865. Mr. Jamieson afterward became the proprietor of the Cottage Grove avenue store.

In 1876 Mr. Sargent opened a central store at 125 State street, one door north of Madison street, still continuing the store at Wabash avenue and Sixteenth street. Later he removed the State street store to 108 Wabash avenue, where it still is at the time of writing.

The clerks of F. Scammon and F. Scammon & Co. were as follows, so far as we have been able to obtain their names: F. W. Crane, Ryder P. Forrest, Henry Harding, Wm. McMillian, Riley M. Graves, Samuel H. Larminie, Valentine Hohenadle, Francis Jacoby, Peter J. Singer, Albert E. Ebert, S. A. Sanborn and W. H. Childs.

Among the clerks of Sargent & Ilsley we find Fred E. Willis, James W. Mill, Thomas Whitfield, W. T. Baird, Albert E. Ebert and Peter Wetterer.

Among those who clerked for E. H. Sargent & Co. prior to the fire were Albert E. Ebert, Edwin R. Smith, John Corbidge, Louis Strehl, N. Gray Bartlett, Thomas N. Jamieson, Judson S. Jacobus, H. E. Hildebrand, Isaac H. Fry, Charles W. Gill and a Mr. Irish.

H. C. Watson & Co.

This firm advertises in the Weekly Democrat of June 29, 1846, that they had opened a new store at 67 East Lake street, with a complete line of drugs, medicines, chemicals, dye stuffs and liquors, also fine groceries, dry goods, boots and shoes, and hardware, and solicit the trade of cash buyers. The existence of this firm must not have been of long duration for we find no further record or mention of them as being connected with the drug trade. They certainly were behind

the progressive times of 1846, as most of those engaged in the drug business at that period were getting rid of the side lines, as groceries, dry goods, hardware, etc.

In the latter part of the year 1846, the first German drug store "Deutsche Apotheke" was established in Chicago by Frederick Rosenmerkel who had come from Bavaria, Germany, in the early part of this year. The store was opened on the north side of Lake street, No. 197, just west of Wells street in a two story frame building, the property of Silas B. Cobb. The store room was partitioned off, the family of the apothecary occupying the rear part as its residence.

We are told that the business had a precarious existence at the start. The winter was a severe one; the spring of 1847 was wet and late, the roads were bad, preventing the farmers from coming to town, so that it became necessary for joint action on the part of the city and county authorities for improving the roads for a distance of ten miles out of the city.

From an account that has been given us of the Lake street drug store we are impressed that Mr. Rosenmerkel's experience in managing a drug store at Filzhofen, Bavaria, just previous to his coming to this country was not of such a kind as to have been any advantage to him in a commercial way in doing business here. He fitted and stocked up the store on strict professional lines. It was when opened, purely and simply a German apothecary shop, containing only such drugs and medicines as were suitable and necessary for dispensing and retailing purposes.

It must be remembered in this connection, that there were few physicians in the city and a limited German population, the census of 1845 giving about 1,000 in number. There were only a few German families near Rosenmerkel's store on Lake, Wells and Franklin streets, and the remainder were scattered over the whole city. There was a small settlement of them on State street, south of Van Buren and another south of Van Buren on Sherman street; a few were scattered on the west side of the river on Canal, Clinton and Desplaines streets, between West Lake and Adams streets; and the remainder, the greater number, were located in the "Dutch Settlement," which was on the north side of the river west of Clark street. The foregoing statement would indicate that he was not overburdened with business calls and it confirms the story that he spent most of his time during the winter of 1846 and 1847 in reading and visiting his neighbors, while waiting for business to turn up. In this connection it may not be out of place to chronicle the names of some of the more prominent German settlers of the 40's.

These were: Amberg, Baumgarten, Berdel, Berg, Best, Bishoff, Blasy, Barmann, Boyce, Busch, Dieden, Diversey, Doctor, Ebert, Espert, Eich, Falsch, Getzler, Gross, Haas, Hahn, Hagemann, Hand, Hartmann, Hettinger, Hoeffgen, Huber, Jung, Kassler, Kohn, Landgraff, Letz, Malzacker, Mattern, Nibus, Otto, Periolot, Peteri, Pfeiffer, Pfund, Raber, Reis, Rosenberg, Rosenmerkel, Rue, Sauter, Schall, Schaller, Schmur, Schuttler, Schirra, Spahn, Strehl, Stumpf, Uhlich, Warlich, Weitzel and Wehrli. The German physicians were Boening, Boyer, Hellmuth, Lange, Max Meyers and Varges. None of

these were near enough located to the Rosenmerkel store to assist him materially in his business and therefore the Lake street location was not a good one.

These adverse circumstances induced him early in the year 1848 to move the store from Lake street to 94 Wells street (now Fifth avenue), on the west side of the street and near the corner of Washington street. The building was a two-story frame erected for and owned by him, the family occupying the upper story of it as a residence. The store was 20 feet by 40 feet, with working and sleeping rooms in the rear. Mr. Rosenmerkel profited by experience and did not fit this store up quite as exclusively on professional lines as he had the Lake street store. His stock was not as varied as that of other drug stores of the city; yet it is said that he made an effort to supply his customers with everything that was generally called for. We are told, on the authority of the late Dr. Henry Tomboeken, who was in the employ of Mr. Rosenmerkel for many years, that on one occasion he ordered some "Holland herrings" from New York for a sick customer, the same not being obtainable in Chicago at the time. The surroundings of the new location was much better than the old one. The German Catholics had erected an edifice, "St. Peter's Church," on Washington street just west of Wells street, thereby making the neighborhood a nucleus for Germans, who at this time were flocking in great numbers to the city on account of the unsuccessful revolution which had taken place in the fatherland.

To help in the drug line there came to Chicago in 1848 and 1849 that dreaded scourge, the cholera. This made an increased demand for drugs and made business lively for all the druggists in the city. From this time until the time of his death in 1854 by cholera, Mr. Rosenmerkel did a most successful and lucrative business.

Prior to his demise he erected a four-story brick house at 130 Wells street, one door north of Madison street, which was especially designed and built for carrying on the retail drug business. The interior arrangement was in the most improved and elegant style, retaining largely the German professional lines for the manufacture, sale and dispensing of drugs and medicines. The fixtures were solid mahogany, the shelfware of glass and porcelain was of the finest cut, imported from Bohemia. The labels were gold-enameled and burnt into the ware. The apparatus and implements for the store and laboratory came from Germany, among which for the laboratory was an improved Beindorf's apparatus, the first of the few that have ever been in Chicago. When the store was ready for business it was without doubt the most completely fitted up drug store on continental lines in this country; but its designer and owner was not allowed to enjoy its beauty and usefulness, as that dreadful plague, the cholera, of 1854, carried him off.

The new store at 130 Wells street, was carried on by the widow and managed for her for several years by Philip H. Matthei, who is a practicing physician of this city at the present time.

Mr. Matthei was succeeded as manager by William H. Mueller, in 1857, who subsequently married the widow and the business was continued very successfully under the new firm name of Wm. H. Mueller,

until his death which took place in 1870. The widow, with the aid of her son, Adolph Rosenmerkel, again assumed the responsibilities of the business, conducting it successfully up to the time of the big fire of 1871, when it was destroyed and she retired. She lives, at the time of this writing, with one of her daughters. Although aged, she is sprightly and active and full of recollections and reminiscences of the Chicago drug business in the '40s, '50s, '60s and '70s.

Of the clerks in the employ of Messrs. Rosenmerkel and Mueller, we can record the names of Adolph Rosenmerkel; Fredrick Huscher, Henry Tomboeken, Joseph Feilmeier, Ferdinand Rogler, Vincenz Faika, August Schaefer, Joseph Steinkeller, Adolph Settheimer, William Hasselbach, Albrecht Keyer, and Messrs. Denks, Doepp, Gelharr, Kroell, and Wittstein, the latter being the nephew of the celebrated author and chemist, Professor C. G. Wittstein of Munich, Bavaria.

Louis Warlich.

The next drug store in chronological order was also a German store. It was located at 42 South Franklin street between Lake and Randolph streets in 1847. The firm name was "Warlich's Deutsche Apotheke" the owners being Louis Warlich and Dr. Louis Boening. It remained in this location one year when the stock and fixtures were removed over the river, this being the first German drug store in the North division. It was in this year and thereafter that the German settlers began to flock to Chicago and the greater number of them located on the "North Side," the district west of North Clark street was known as the "Dutch Settlement;" Germans were in those days called "Dutchmen." The Warlich drug store, of which we have a picture, was located on the northwest corner of North Clark and Kinzie streets, in a substantial two-story frame building and was for years a landmark of that district of the city. The firm name of the business was "Louis Warlich's Drug Store." Dr. Boening retained an interest in the business for several years when he withdrew, giving his attention solely to the practice of medicine in which he was very successful; and it may be mentioned here that he was one of the first if not the first German regular practicing physician of Chicago. Mr. Warlich, who was a highly-educated German apothecary, gave close personal attention to the business which soon assumed a prosperous aspect so that after the lapse of a decade he had acquired such a competency that he sold the business to one of his clerks, Mr. Julius Roemheld, who continued it in the new four story brick building erected especially for him by Mr. Louis Warlich for carrying on the drug business. The business was conducted by Mr. Roemheld very successfully and was disposed of to Messrs. Dietzsch Blocki & Co. in 1865, for $50,000. Two years later Mr. Henry Biroth acquired Mr. Dietzsch's interest and the firm now became Biroth, Blocki & Co. Just before the big fire Mr. Biroth acquired the sole ownership of what had become one of the largest retail drug stores of Chicago, which, however, was swept out of existence by the great calamity that befell the city of Chicago in 1871. Mr. Henry Biroth re-established himself, immediately, in the retail drug business at 2127 Archer avenue, where he was very

successful in regaining, in a short period, the great loss that he had sustained by the fire. He is now one of the successful chemical manufacturers of Chicago.

Dr. F. C. Hageman.

During the early 40s, we find a record of a German family of Hageman consisting of three brothers residing on North Water street. It seems that during the summer season, these brothers followed the lakes as barbers on steamers plying between Chicago and Detroit. There is a record that Frederick C. Hageman (one of the brothers) was the barber on board the steamer Madison during the season of navigation of 1843. We also learn that about the beginning of the year 1847 Frederick C. Hageman had become a doctor of medicine and opened a store on North Water street, near North Clark street, for the sale of medicines and drugs; and that his brother Christopher, who had formerly been engaged in selling groceries, was now engaged in the capacity of a drug clerk.

The following year, 1848, the business was removed from North Water street to 26 North Clark street and here conducted as full fledged drug store under the firm name of Dr. F. C. Hageman.

We extract the following from a letter written by W. S. Pearce, the pioneer druggist of Waukegan, Illinois, under date of August 15, 1901. He writes:—

"In September of 1849, on returning from a visit to England, I stopped at Chicago, which at that time, I think, had about 16,000 inhabitants. In walking over the city I found only one drug store on the North Side, kept by Dr. F. C. Hageman at 26 North Clark street. I, being a druggist of seven years' experience, which I gained in England, and seeking some employment, stepped into the drug store and had a talk with the doctor. I learned that he had recently been elected County Physician, that his practical knowledge of running a drug store was not much, and that he was desirous of taking in a partner who had a knowledge of the business so as to relieve him of this duty. After thinking over the proposition that he offered me I thought it a good chance to enter business and went into partnership with him; but at the end of nine months, he objecting to enlarging the stock and improving the building by putting in a new store front, we dissolved partnership, I withdrawing and purchasing a farm in DuPage county. Having had no experience and no knowledge of farming and not used to the work in the sun, I soon had enough of it and yearned to be back in a drug store. Learning that Dr. Hageman was again anxious to dispose of his drug business I negotiated with him, and traded half of my farm for his stock of goods, fixtures and building, and returned to Chicago in 1852 and resumed the drug business under the firm name of W. S. Pearce, Apothecary and Pharmaceutical Chemist. Meanwhile, in 1850, Louis Warlich had opened a drug store at 39 North Clark, corner of Kinzie street, and, being a good druggist, did a good business. I, too, did a good business for the next three years, two of which were cholera years; having an attack of this myself and seeing daily the many funerals passing the store on their way to the city cemetery (now Lincoln Park) produced

such an impression on my mind that a living dog was better than a dead lion, and I decided to sell out and get out of Chicago, which I did, in 1855, selling the business to J. C. Lowrie, a good druggist, who had recently come to Chicago from Cape Town, Africa. He carried on the business successfully until 1858, when he sold it to Mr. Henry W. Robinson, who moved the store to 28 North Clark street, which was one door north of the old location. After disposing of the store, Mr. Lowrie concluded to return to his native city, Cape Town, but during the passage he must have changed his mind, for he committed suicide by jumping overboard, and became "food for the fishes."

Mr. Robinson remained in possession for about a year, when it passed to Luther F. Humiston, a druggist from Holyoke, Mass. In 1859, Mr. Humiston studied medicine, and after graduating as a physician, sold the drug store to Mr. Chas. H. Gardiner, a brother of Mr. Gardiner of the firm of Lazell, Marsh & Gardiner, No. 10 Gold street, New York City. He entered the army as surgeon of the 37th Illinois Infantry, serving through the war, and on being mustered out of service, returned to his native city where he died several years after. Mr. Gardiner carried on the drug business at 26 North Clark street until the fire of 1871, when the stock and fixtures were destroyed. He re-established himself after the fire at the southeast corner of Wells and Erie streets, continuing here up to the time of his death.

This brings to a close the history of the first drug store of the North Division, founded by the barber, F. C. Hageman, in 1848. Hageman also held public office; he was physician of Cook County in 1849 and was elected Alderman of the city of Chicago for the term 1851-52.

George Bormann.

The third German druggist to locate in Chicago was George F Bormann, who came from Braunschweig, Germany, to Chicago in 1847. The store was opened by him about the beginning of the year 1848, under the firm name of George Bormann, at 184 East Randolph street, in a brick building erected and owned by the parents of Gale Brothers, who, ten years after, succeeded Mr. Bormann in the business at the same location, although the number of the store has been changed from 184 to 202 East Randolph street. There had been an error of eighteen numbers in the numbering of East Randolph street and this was corrected by order of the council in the year 1858.

Mr. Bormann was a highly educated and trained German apothecary and conducted the drug business on purely professional lines, in which he was quite successful. He enjoyed the confidence and patronage of the German physicians and the German public of the south and west divisions of the city so that in about ten years, with close attention to business, he had acquired quite an independence in worldly possessions and decided upon retiring from the drug business, disposing of the same to the Gale Brothers, the firm consisting of Edwin O. and William H. Gale, the latter brother, William H., having served his apprenticeship with Mr. Bormann, while Edwin O. had learned the business with Henry Bowman and J. H. Reed & Co. Gale Brothers, after acquiring the business, remodeled the store and

stock to bring it up to the American idea of a drug store and carried it on very successfully under the firm names of Gale Brothers and Gale & Blocki, at this location up to the time of the big fire in 1871, by which it was totally destroyed.

Mr. George F. Bormann, in 1858, associated himself with Frederick Fuhring and bought out the drug firm of C. Schlemm at 182 (new number) East Randolph street and, in 1859, removed the store to 195 East Randolph street where it was continued under the firm name of George Bormann & Company until 1860, when it was sold out, removed and disappeared as a stock. Mr. Bormann now retired from active business, spending the remainder of his days in philanthropic work. He was one of the founders of the "Deutsche Gesellschaft" (German society), of which he was the presiding officer for a number of years and was active in a number of other benevolent organizations. He finally took up farming, following a quiet retired life up to the time of his death, which occurred during the 70s. He was born in the year 1801.

Among the clerks of George Bormann, that we have a record of, are: William Schafer, Javis D. Cole, Frederick Liese, Constantin Schlemm, Dr. Spiegelhalter, Dr. Lampe and William H. Gale.

R. and H. Anderson.

This firm was composed of the two brothers, Robert C. and Hiram C. Anderson, who came to Chicago from Aurora, Illinois, and opened a drug store in 1848 on the south side of West Randolph street, between West Water and Canal streets, which was the first drug store that we have any record of as being located in the west division. The following year the store was removed to 34 West Randolph street, which was a few doors west of Canal street. Here the business remained and was conducted by the firm during the years of '50 and '51. At this time it was announced that the firm had a branch store in Aurora, Ill., and that they were general dealers in drugs, medicines, paints, oils, window glass and dye stuffs; and that they were manufacturers of camphine, spirit gas and alcohol, the factory being near the railroad depot.

The following year (1852) the firm was dissolved, Hiram C. Anderson assuming sole ownership and management of the Chicago store, while Robert C. Anderson associated himself with a Mr. Boutwell and succeeded the firm of R. & H. Anderson, at the Aurora store, under the firm name of Anderson & Boutwell. This firm existed for two years, making large purchases of merchandise in Chicago; most of the accounts were never paid, the parties absconding to parts unknown.

Hiram C. Anderson continued the Chicago store during the years of 1852 and 1853, advertising in the Chicago papers of these dates that he was the sole manufacturer of camphine and burning fluid or spirit gas, also of alcohol. In the beginning of the year 1854 the store was removed from 34 West Randolph street east to the southeast corner of Canal and Randolph streets by William H. Cheesman, the clerk, who was in charge of the business, and it was sold a few

months later to E. L. O'Hara. We have been unable to obtain any record of what became of Hiram C. Anderson after the store was sold to O'Hara,

Edson L. O'Hara, successor of the Anderson business, was born in Orleans county, New York State. Of his early life we have not been able to get any record. He came west to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1852 or 1853, clerked in one of the stores of that city and came to Chicago about the first of the year 1854. A sister of O'Hara was the wife of Dr. De Laskie Miller, one of the prominent physicians of Chicago, and it is most likely that the doctor assisted the new comer, who was a most qualified pharmacist, to purchase the Anderson store. The store, under O'Hara's able management, became a landmark of the west division of the city; and he did a most prosperous business from the year 1854 to the early 60s, when it commenced to decline on account of the habits that he had contracted. This went from bad to worse when the business was taken in charge of by Dr. Waldo W. Lake in 1865, who sold it the following year to W. Harry Stowe, and it was consumed by a fire during 1867, thereby ending the stock and fixtures of the Anderson's drug store. During the prosperous years of O'Hara's possession of the store it did an extensive prescriptive business. Mr. O'Hara had quite a scientific turn of mind. He furnished for years the meteorological reports to the Chicago Tribune. He died suddenly while in the counting room of that paper, in 1867. I. H. Thompson was a clerk of O'Hara in 1854.

James Andrews.

Mr. James Andrews came from Rome, New York, to Chicago about 1847 and connected himself with the lumber business. In the early part of 1849 he engaged in the drug business by opening a drug store on the southwest corner of Randolph and Canal streets, in the three-story brick building known as the Western Hotel, now the Barnes House. This was the second drug store in the west division of the city that we have any record of.

The following year, 1850, he removed the business a few doors west of the corner, the number being 42 West Randolph street. Here it remained until the year 1854 when he removed still farther west to No. 56 West Randolph street. This year, 1854, Mr. Andrews was elected sheriff of Cook county and he disposed of the drug store to Franklin A. Knapp and Dr. Henry T. O'Farrell, who continued the business for one year under the firm name of Knapp and O'Farrell, disposing of the same in 1855 to F. and H. M. Hooker, who carried on the retail drug business until in 1868 they went into the oil, paint and glass business on the northeast corner of Randolph and Clinton streets.

During Sheriff Andrews' term of office the noted murder trial of banker George W. Green took place, Mr. Green was convicted and sentenced to be hanged on the direct testimony of Professor James V. Z. Blaney, of Rush Medical College. The stomach of the murdered wife had been given to Dr. Blaney for examination, and without

any knowledge of what poison had been administered he found and isolated strychnine in such quantities that he was enabled to demonstrate by new and novel tests before the court and jury the presence of this poison and satisfied them that it was the cause of the death of the woman. This was a revelation in the chemical science and pro duced quite a sensation, especially in England where recently the noted Palmer murder case had been tried, and although it was known that strychnine had been administered yet the chemists had been unable to find it. Prior to the day of execution Mr. Green made a confession substantiating the correctness of Dr. Blaney's analysis, and on that same night the guilty man committed suicide by hanging himself to the door of his cell. It is reported that Sheriff Andrews, being opposed to capital punishment, was much relieved in mind by the termination of the case. The following year, 1855, Mr. James Andrews died.

Among the employés of this drug store were William A. Bacon and George Mason, son of Charlie Mason of the Excelsior Iron Works, who, leaving drugs and following his father in iron, is, at the present time of writing, the president of the company.

Sears & Bay.

Prior to his death in 1849, Mr. L. M. Boyce expressed the desire that the drug business bearing his name at 113 Lake street (Saloon Building), should be sold to Mr. Edwin R. Bay, who had been for many years his principal and confidential clerk. To carry out this request and enable him to do so, Mr. Bay secured the assistance of Mr. John Sears, Jr., a capitalist and merchant, who, with James Peck, had been engaged as a contractor in the building of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, and later on as a general merchant in the commission and provision business in Chicago.

A partnership was formed under the firm name of Sears & Bay to carry on the wholesale and retail drug business. Mr. Sears, having large means, furnished most of the capital, while Mr. Bay, having the practical knowledge and experience, managed the business.

After two years continuance of the business, Mr. Bay withdrew from the firm and associated himself with Mr. William Anson Baldwin, another capitalist, and instituted a new wholesale drug house in Chicago, which was located at 139 Lake street, under the firm name of Bay & Baldwin.

The old firm name of Sears & Bay was changed to John Sears, Jr., and continued at the old stand, No. 113 Lake street. The following advertisement appeared in *The Weekly Democrat* of March 6, 1852: "Notice. John Sears, Jr., has succeeded to the business of Sears & Bay, at 113 Lake street, and solicits a continuance of the patronage given the old firm. [Dated] February 3, 1852. John Sears, Jr." On the retirement of Mr. Bay from the management of Sears & Bay, Mr. Charles G. Smith, who served an apprenticeship with the old firm, was advanced by Mr. Sears to head clerkship and managership of the business of the firm of John Sears, Jr.

On the first of January, 1854, Mr. Smith was taken into partnership

by Mr. Sears, and the firm name became Sears & Smith, occupying the same premises at 113 Lake street. During the first year of partnership the business doubled and every appearance for trade extension was good. In order to enlarge, there were admitted into the firm in February, 1855, Mr. Edward Burnham and Mr. Riley N. Graves as partners, and the firm name was changed to Sears, Smith & Co. This firm continued for two years when Mr. Sears retired, disposing of his interest to the remaining partners, who continued the business under the firm name of Burnham & Smith, and removed the same to No. 23 Lake street.

This location was held for three years, when the growing demands of business imperatively called for more room, and a removal was made to 16 Lake street. Here the business was continued until March, 1864, when the firm of Burnham & Smith was dissolved, Mr. Peter Van Schaack becoming associated and purchasing the interest of Mr. Chas. G. Smith, who retired from the firm. The firm name was changed from Burnham & Smith to Burnham & Van Schaack, and the business was continued at No. 16 Lake street.

After the dissolution of Burnham & Smith, Mr. Charles G. Smith again established himself in the wholesale drug business at 259 South Water street, pending the erection of a building for him by J. Young Scammon at Nos. 1 and 3 Randolph street. In January, 1866, Messrs. C. Henry Cutler and Henry T. West became his partners and the business was conducted under the firm name of Smith, Cutler & Co. This firm continued in business until the beginning of the year 1867 when the business was sold to the old firm of Burnhan & Van Schaack, who removed their stock from No. 16 Lake street and consolidated it with the stock of Smith, Cutler & Co. at Nos. 1 and 3 Randolph street. Messrs. Smith and Cutler retired from the drug business altogether, Mr. Smith removing from Chicago to the city of Washington, D. C., where he is now residing; Mr. Cutler entered the varnish business and is still a resident of Chicago. The remaining partner, Mr. West, became a partner of Burnham & Van Schaack, which firm continued until 1870 when Mr. Peter Van Schaack sold out, and, associating himself with Robert Stevenson and W. H. Reid, under the firm name of Van Schaack, Stevenson & Reid, purchased the wholesale drug business of E. P. Dwyer & Co., Nos. 92 and 94 Lake street.

On Mr. Van Schaack's retiring, the firm name was changed to E. Burnham & Son, the partners being Edwin Burnham, Edwin R. Burnham and Henry T. West, the business being continued at Nos. 1 and 3 Randolph street up to May, 1871, when it was moved to No. 19 Market street. It was at this location at the time of the fire of 1871, when all of it went up in the flames. The loss of the firm was estimated at $100,000. A short time after the fire, the firm opened temporarily for business at 157 and 159 South Canal street, when it removed to permanent quarters at 52 and 54 East Lake street. In 1876 the firm of E. Burnham & Son was succeeded by the firm of Morrisson, Plummer & Co., which was composed of Robert Morrisson, Jonathan W. Plummer and Leonard A. Langé. In 1885 the firm was incorporated under the same firm name with Robert Morrisson

as president. J. W Plummer as vice president, and L. A. Langé as secretary. After the death of Robert Morrisson in 1888, Jonathan W. Plummer became president, James L Morrisson, of Richmond, Indiana, father of Robert Morrisson, a heavy stockholder, 1st vice president, L. A. Langé, 2nd vice president and secretary, and John T. Plummer, treasurer.

In 1891, the building occupied not furnishing sufficient room for the increased business, the company moved to Nos. 200, 202, 204 and 206 Randolph street, where it is at present located. In 1893 James L. Morrisson died at his home in Richmond, Indiana, and his grandson, the son of Robert Morrisson, and Elgar G. Hibbart, a son-in-law of James L. Morrisson, came into the company, and its officers were: J. W. Plummer, president, Elgar G. Hibbart, 1st vice president, James H. Morrisson, 2nd vice president and treasurer, and Walter G. Bentley, secretary.

Mr. John Sears, Jr., while engaged in the wholesale drug business at 113 Lake street, was also interested with his brother-in-law, Dr. Joseph Blount, in a retail drug store located, from 1852 to 1853, at the southwest corner of Randolph and State streets, and known as the "McMillan Store," the business being managed for them by James F. Smith, Jr. This store was sold to Messrs. Breck and Paine, who had been clerks for McMillan. In the 50s Mr. Sears, with Silas R. Ball, entered into the manufacture of lard, oil and candles; the firm name was Ball & Sears. In 1860 Mr. Ball retired from the business and Mr. Isaac Wells became a partner, the firm name being John Sears & Co. Subsequently, this business was succeeded by N. K. Fairbanks & Co., who are in direct line at present the successors of Ball & Sears of 1850.

Mr. John Sears, Jr., was also engaged in the lumber trade, the firm name being Wells & Sears. Mr. Isaac Wells, who had been clerk and bookkeeper for the drug firms of L. M. Boyce, Sears & Bay, John Sears, Jr., was his partner.

Clerks of the above drug firms, of which we have a record, are: Isaac Wells, John A. Bay, John C. Illsley, E. T. Cheesman, Henry T. West, Chas. G. Smith, James Barrett, M. L. Barrett, T. J. Bond, Dr. John Bryan, Charles Pearson, Peter Wetterer and Messrs. C. Z. Town, Harry Blakeslee, J. H. Allen, F. L. Gridley, John Dexler, Edward Harper, James P. Knox, R. J. Walters and R. S. Ramsey.

This closes the history of the drug firms in business in Chicago from 1840 to 1850.

Puritan Influences in the Formative Years of Illinois History

BY

CARRIE PRUDENCE KOFOID.

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CHAPTER I*.

A PURITAN VILLAGE IN ILLINOIS.

In the north central part of the State of Illinois, a hundred miles above Springfield, lies a little village in the midst of the rich prairie country. The town itself is on a slight rise of land so that it overlooks the country for miles around. On every side stretch the well kept farms. On a bright fall day it is a particularly pleasant scene; everywhere the great fields of corn, golden brown in the sunlight, and moving slowly here and there the huge wagons laden with the golden ears. The expanse of field is broken by orchards, a little woodland where some prairie stream makes its way toward the Illinois river, or a clump of trees or a windmill which indicates the location of some well-kept farm house. There is little going on in the tiny town itself; a few stores, dispersing points for necessary supplies, a large school house with its ebb and flow of noise and silence. The roads are good, the trees abundant and large, the houses neat and comfortable and all pervaded by an air of quiet and repose that calls at once to mind the old New England village off the line of the railroad. Not until 1900 did a railroad reach this village. No mines, no large industries have ever been started in its vicinity. Everything has conspired to keep the community, aside from the slow progress and material improvement that comes with years, in the same social condition with the same ideals and ideas that were stamped on it in the first thirty years of its existence. It is a town typical of many that have arisen in northern Illinois, but owing to its comparative isolation it has preserved longer than many its independence of the bustling activities of the world. Yet this little town and others like it have stood for much in the development of the great State. What has been the central organization, the central force to hold it together and make it count for something both for its own community and the world at large? Where, to borrow a term from silence, has been the dynamic center?

All the week the ordinary busy routine of life goes on, each family working to and for itself. When Sunday comes there is a change.

From practically every house in the village the people take their way to that modest, ample church, so centrally and conspicuously placed. From away out over the prairie the teams come with whole families. About the church the wagons stand thick; and inside, the large and handsome audience room is well filled. They are all there,

* This paper was accepted by the University of Illinois as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.—[Ed.]

men, women and children, the aged people and the young men and women. After the morning service apparently a large part of the congregation remain for Sunday School or gather about the building and talk in little groups. On every face is an aspect of deep satisfaction with the course of the day's procedure. Perhaps today this scene cannot be witnessed in many places in Illinois, a community where the church lays her hand on the whole population and where willing and glad, even if somewhat conventional, allegiance is granted to her claims.

But in this town for some sixty years this scene has been renewed from week to week and it is the only power, the only organization in the community, which has so brought its people together. This phenomenon, if one pleases so to call it, so remarkably preserved to us today, is but the working of an organization which in earlier years deliberately entered Illinois to have its part in moulding its future. It has worked hard and long. It has accomplished much.

The history of this one church of the New England faith is typical of many others. Some two miles out of town where the pioneer settlement began was the pioneer church, a rude building twenty by forty feet, at first built of logs, but gathering a congregation of two or three hundred on Sunday. This log church was followed in time by a large brick building, the pride of all the region around. Today its plain Doric outline, softened by ivy, deserted and crumbling, is pleasing and satisfying to the eye. In the 40s it was called one of the most flourishing churches in the State. It gathered into its ample fold both Northerner and Southerner. It was in the church that their conflicting opinions were worked over and, not without suffering on both sides, the New England ideal maintained. To this region also came in the 40s and 50s, the thrifty Germans, Danes and Swedes from the old country, seeking earnestly freedom and enlightenment. There was power in the church to adapt itself to the needs of these. All were made one in the house of God. Today you trace their fair hair and blue eyes in the congregation and the children of the foreigner are at home in the teachings of the Puritans.

This community had its theological difficulties; organized as a Presbyterian church, divided by Old School and New School doctrines, it emerged in the 50s as a Congregational church. Within its walls its chief talk was of personal righteousness; but there was a firm belief that next to righteousness the success of the community and of the state and nation of which this community was so conspicuous a part, rested on education. So under the fostering care of the church grew up the public school, the village academy, which might, if circumstances favored, grow even into a college, and the young ladies' seminary. They sent east for teachers that their youth might have the best. The special glory of the little town is, that here first gathered kindred souls to talk over a form of education which should be the crown of all the State's work for her children, plans that finally led to the State universities which are doing so much for the west.

With this one record in mind, we turn to conditions in New England for the starting point.

CHAPTER II.

HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN NEW ENGLAND.

Efforts for the propagation of the Gospel characterized the early settlers of New England and have always had a place in the activities of their descendants. Opportunities and methods have changed, but under such form such work has gone on from the beginning of New England's history. In the eighteenth century the General Association of the churches superintended such work, sending out settled pastors from their home churches for periods of missionary work in new settlements and among the Indians. Toward the end of the century special societies began to come into existence, the New York Missionary Society in 1796, the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society in 1799. The work of these societies advanced to the west with the settlements; at first, limited to the region of the Mohawk and Genesee rivers in New York, then extending to "New Connecticut" in Ohio and reaching Illinois for the first time in 1812.* The most active of these societies in western frontier work was the Missionary Society of Connecticut which, with some help from the Missionary Society of Massachusetts, carried on most of the work in Illinois till the formation of a national society in 1826. This society was organized June 19, 1796, at Hebron, Connecticut, at the regular meeting of the General Association of Connecticut, with the following constitution: †

CONSTITUTION OF THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF CONNECTICUT.

The General Association of the State of Connecticut, impressed with the obligation on all the friends of Christianity to propagate a knowledge of its gracious and holy doctrines, also encouraged by the late zealous exertions for this end, in sundry Christian bodies, cannot but hope the time is near in which God will spread his truth through the earth. They also consider it a thing of great importance that some charitable assistance be extended to new Christian settlements in various parts of the United States. The salvation of these souls is precious. The happiness of the rising generation and the order and stability of civil government are most effectually advanced by the

* E. P. Parker, Historical Discourse on Missionary Society of Connecticut. (Hartford, 1898.)

† Parker, Historical Discourse, 13.

diffusion of religious and moral sentiments through the preaching of the gospel. In deep feeling of these truths, having by prayer sought the direction of God, in the fear of His great name, they have adopted the following Constitution of a Missionary Society:

Article I. This society shall be known by the name of the Missionary Society.

Article II. The General Association of the State of Connecticut shall be the said Missionary Society.

Article III. The General Association shall, annually, by ballot, appoint twelve trustees, whereof six shall be clergymen and six shall be brethren of our churches, who shall conduct the business of our society in the manner hereinafter prescribed.

Article IV. The object of this society shall be to christianize the heathen in North America, and to support and promote Christian knowledge in the new settlements, within the United States; and both shall be pursued as circumstances shall point out, and as the trustees, under the superintendence of the General Association, shall direct.

Article V. The General Association and the Trustees shall adopt such measures, from time to time, for raising funds, as they shall judge to be expedient.

Article VI. The trustees shall have power to apply the funds of the society, according to their discretion, in all cases, in which they shall not be limited by the General Association, or by the donors. They shall correspond with other missionary societies; shall have power to appoint and dismiss missionaries; to pay them; and generally to transact all business necessary to attain the ends of the society; and shall be paid their necessary expenses, but nothing for their services.

Article VII. The trustees shall, annually, appoint a secretary, who shall keep a fair account of the proceedings. They shall also appoint a chairman, who, with four of the trustees, shall be a quorum to transact business; or, if the stated chairman shall not be present, any seven of the trustees shall be a quorum.

Article VIII. The chairman shall have power to call a meeting of the trustees at his discretion, by letters left with them, or at the houses of their residence; and it shall be his duty to call such meeting whenever requested by any two of the trustees. And in case of the death of the chairman, or of his absence from the State, any two trustees are hereby empowered to call a meeting.

Article IX. The General Association shall, annually, appoint a treasurer and auditor of accounts; and the treasurer shall exhibit, both to the General Association and to the trustees, the state of the treasury, whenever he shall be called upon for that purpose.

Article X. The trustees shall, annually, exhibit to the General Association a particular account of the missionaries employed by them—of places to which they are sent—of the missions—of the state of the funds—of the receipts and expenditures—and of whatever relating to this institution the General Association shall require.

Article XI. The trustees, and all the officers of this society, shall enter on their respective offices on the first Wednesday of September, annually; and shall continue in office for one year.

Article XII. The trustees shall hold their first meeting at the State House in Hartford, on the first Wednesday of September next, at 11 o'clock A. M., and every year thereafter they shall meet at the same time and place, unless otherwise ordered by the General Association.

Article XIII. If on experience it shall be found necessary to alter this constitution, an alteration may be made by the General Association at their stated meeting; but not without having been drawn up in writing and lying under consideration one year; nor unless all adopt the said alteration.

BENJAMIN TRUMBULL, *Moderator.*

Passed in General Association, at Hebron, June 21, 1798.

Test: NATHAN PERKINS, *Scribe.*

The General Assembly of the State granted authority to ask contributions from the churches and the Governor issued an annual proclamation reminding the people of the contributions to be taken on the first Sabbath in May, and exhorted them to liberality in the same. These proclamations were directed to be publicly read by the several ministers to their congregations. More than twenty of these proclamations are preserved in the Historical Society in Hartford.[1]

The settlers were expected to co-operate with contributions and much responsibility was laid upon them to continue the institutions and religious customs of New England. In 1816 President Dwight of Yale said in an address to emigrants from Connecticut, which was printed and distributed by the Missionary Society of Connecticut, "Upon the decision of a few depend the interests of millions in after-times. It devolves upon you to lay out the streets and plant the foundations of literature and religion and to give a shape to the institutions of society."[2]

Too great stress cannot be laid upon the clear apprehension the founders and promoters of these societies had of the grave importance and far reaching influence of their labors. The phrase "the fathers builded better than they knew" is familiar, but it has been cleverly and truly amended, "They often knew better than they were able to build." The constitution of the Missionary Society of Connecticut emphasizes the "propagation of the gracious and holy doctrines of Christianity" and feels this necessary "to the order and stability of civil government." Those continued to be the chief motives for the support of the society. They were, however, amplified, and additional reasons were pressed upon the constituency of this society and the larger national society to which it became auxiliary as time went on. The spread of personal religion and the growth of righteousness were always the first consideration. On these it was felt profoundly that the stability of a self-governing nation depended. It seemed at times as if institutions of New England's faith and order must be submerged by the opposing elements it encountered; but, instead, those very elements of opposition only served as an added ground of appeal for stronger support. At first, and for many years, the appeal was simply to extend the gospel to frontiers where irreligion and ignorance prevailed. In 1835, with the beginning of extensive foreign immigration, Dr. Lyman Beecher's Plea for the West was published, warning the friends of religion and liberty that Romanism was seeking to take possession of the whole Mississippi valley; and from this time on for a decade, the rescuing of the West from Romanism was a powerful plea.

In the early forties the rapidly increasing population of the Northwest brought into prominence the political argument. It was felt that "Catholic influences would co-operate with infidelity and native depravity to make voters and legislators."[3] By 1842 tables were prepared and presented through the publications of the society to the churches of New England showing the relative influence of the East

1. E. P. Parker, *Historical discourse*, 15.
2. *Ibid.* 20.
3. *The Home Missionary*, April, 1842.

and West in the National Legislature, and that between the years 1830 and 1840 the East had lost and the West had gained in representatives, urging this as an argument for Christian activity in behalf of the new states. The West, in this period, had gained twelve representatives while the East had lost thirty, "a matter of trifling importance if those men and the constituents by whom they are elected are intelligent and virtuous." Otherwise, it was felt, they would be men "chosen for their subservient views to transient and party interests whose affinities are with the boisterous blasphemer, the duelist and the assassin." In 1845, the constituents of the society are told with elaborate proofs that the emigrants who are flocking to the West are largely paupers and criminals, that in five years the West will hold the balance of power in Congress, and that now is the time to affect the character of the stranger. In 1848, two addresses were published and widely circulated: "The Church Essential to the Republic," by Rev. E. N. Kirk; and "The Evangelization of the Masses of the People the Only Guarantee of Representative Democracy," by John Thompson of Poughkeepsie.[1]

With a keen apprehension of coming dangers Horace Bushnell published in 1847 his "Means of Our Country's Salvation." He claimed that Vermont, Western New York and part of Ohio were safe. "We have only to make sure of all the states this side of the Mississippi and then the critical point is past. We must get rid, if possible, of slavery; it aggravates every bad tendency we suffer. We can not, as American Christians be at peace with it longer. Not forgetting the moderation that belongs to every just course, we must lift our voices against it and must not desist from all proper means to secure its removal, till the work is done."[2]

These may be taken as representative utterances expressing the motives used at different times to gain support for missionary societies for their work on the frontier.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the method of sending out settled pastors for short periods had become inadequate and men were employed for continued service, which generally took the form of itineraries. In 1801, the societies of New England and New York had agreed upon a "plan of union" under whose provisions missionary work should be conducted. This agreement continued in force till 1852 with growing dissatisfaction to the two principal bodies involved, the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists. The text of the agreement is as follows:

"Regulations adopted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian churches in America and by the General Association of the State of Connecticut with a view to prevent alienation and promote union and harmony in those new settlements which are composed of inhabitants from those bodies.

"First—It is strictly enjoined on all missionaries to the new settlements to endeavor by all proper means to promote mutual forbear-

1. *Home Missionary*, April, 1842; March, 1845; September, 1847; May, 1848.
2. *The Home Missionary*, November, 1847.

ance and accommodation, between those inhabitants of the new settlements who hold the Presbyterian and those who hold the Congregational form of church government.

Second—If in the new settlements any church of the Congregational order shall settle a minister of the Presbyterian order, that church may, if they choose, still conduct their discipline according to Congregational principles, settling their difficulties among themselves or by a council mutually agreed upon for that purpose. But if any difficulty shall exist between the minister and the church, or any member of it, it shall be referred to the Presbytery to which the minister shall belong, provided both parties agree to it; if not, to a council consisting of an equal number of Presbyterians and Congregationalists agreed upon by both parties.

Third—If a Presbyterian church shall settle a minister of Congregational principles, that church may still conduct their discipline according to Presbyterian principles, excepting that if a difficulty arise between him and his church, or any member of it, the cause shall be tried by the association to which the said minister shall belong, provided both parties shall agree to it; otherwise, by a council, one-half Congregational and the other half Presbyterian, mutually agreed upon by the parties.

Fourth—If any congregation consist partly of those who hold the Congregational form of discipline and partly of those who hold the Presbyterian form, we recommend to both parties that this be no obstruction to their uniting in one church and settling a minister and that in this case the church choose a standing committee from the communicants of said church, whose business it shall be to call to account every member of the church who shall conduct himself inconsistently with the laws of Christianity and to give judgment on such conduct; and if the person condemned by their judgment be a Presbyterian, he shall have liberty to appeal to the Presbytery; if a Congregationalist, he shall have liberty to appeal to the body of the male communicants of the church. In the former case the determination of the Presbytery shall be final, unless the church consent to a further appeal to the Synod or to General Assembly; and in the latter case, if the party condemned shall wish for a trial by a mutual council, the cause shall be referred to such council, and, provided the said standing committee of any church shall depute one of themselves to attend the presbytery, he may have the same right to sit and act in the Presbytery as a ruling elder of the Presbyterian church."*

The originator of this "plan" is supposed to have been the younger Edwards. It was adopted by the General Association of Connecticut and proposed by that body to the General Assembly.†

* American Church History, Series VI, 353.
† J. B. Clark, Leavening the Nation (New York, 1903,) 38.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST MISSIONARY TOURS TO ILLINOIS.

Under the auspices of the Missionary Society of Connecticut, with some help from the Missionary Society of Massachusetts, and in accord with the terms of the "Plan of Union," the first of these New England missionaries visited Illinois in 1812. Illinois was then the extreme frontier of the United States.* In fact, but a small part of what is now Illinois was then open to settlers, only a narrow strip along the Ohio and up the Mississippi as far as the trading post at St. Louis. The main attractions to settlers were the salt works about Shawneetown and what little business was doing about the seat of government at Kaskaskia. The soldiers of George Rogers Clark were followed by settlers from Virginia, the Carolinas and Kentucky. They had with them Methodist and Baptist ministers, generally ignorant and prejudiced, whatever their native ability may have been. To these people were sent out the first missionaries from the east, a notable event both on account of the aim of the expedition and because of the character of its leader.

This leader was Samuel J. Mills, who was born in Litchfield county, Connecticut, in 1783, that county particularly distinguished for the religious leaders it has given to the country. Mr. Mills' father was a Congregational minister. He was himself educated at Williams' College and Andover Theological Seminary and was resident graduate for a few months at Yale. He was ordained to the ministry at Newburyport, Massachusetts, the stronghold of Presbyterianism in New England. He died June 16, 1816, at the age of thirty-five; yet in this comparatively short life he accomplished an amazing amount of work of a wonderfully broad quality and work that has touched national life in many ways. During his college and seminary days he was living through those experiences that filled him with a burning zeal for the extension of Christianity to foreign lands He was one of four to take the initial steps in the formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. At the time of his death, parties of missionaries had gone to India, Ceylon, to the Cherokee and Choctaw Indians and to the Sandwich Islands, many of them personally influenced by him to this work.†

*See map in McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, IV.

†Gardiner Spring, *Memoir of Samuel J. Mills* (New York, 1820).

With this work under way he turned his attention to "Domestic Missions," as the phrase was then, and, from 1812 to 1815, undertook two tours through the West and Southwest. The first trip was under the joint patronage of the Connecticut and Massachusetts societies, and he had as companion Rev. J. F. Schermerhorn of the Dutch Reformed church. The second trip of 1814 was under the patronage of the Connecticut society, with the aid of Bibles and tracts from the Philadelphia Bible Society. The purpose of the trip, in the words of Ellis' biographer, Gardiner Spring, was "to preach the gospel to the destitute, to explore the country and learn its moral and religious state and to promote the establishment of Bible societies and other religious and charitable institutions." The plan of the first trip was to separate in journeying through New York and Pennsylvania, unite at Marietta, Ohio, go down the Mississippi to New Orleans, thence across the Mississippi Territory, returning by way of the western parts of Georgia, the Carolinas and Virginia; this plan was carried out.

It was Mr. Mills' custom to keep a diary and on the return he and Mr. Schermerhorn made full report to the societies. On the first page of Mr. Mills' journal are found the following subjects of inquiry:

1. Are the people supplied with Bibles and tracts?
2. How many Bibles are wanted in a community or a town?
3. Have supplies of Bibles and tracts been received in part?
4. From what societies may supplies be expected?
5. The number of regular clergy in each county?
6. The number of towns able and willing to support ministers?
7. Ascertain, as far as may be, the most hopeful fields for missionary labor.
8. Whence did the people originate?
9. An institution for the benefit of the Africans.

Of the Northwest Territory Mr. Mills says: "South of New Connecticut, few Bibles or religious tracts have been received for distribution among the inhabitants. The Sabbath is greatly profaned, and but few good people can be found in any one place." Of the people on either side of the Ohio river, he says: "We found the inhabitants in a very destitute state, very ignorant of the doctrines of the Gospel and in many instances without Bibles or any other religious books. The Methodist ministers pass through this country in their circuits occasionally. There are a number of good people in the Territory who are anxious to have Presbyterian ministers among them." Introduced by Dr. Gideon Blackburn in Tennessee to General Jackson, who was just starting for Natchez with 1,500 volunteers, the two missionaries were his guests down the river.

In the report to the Connecticut and Massachusetts societies,* Mr. Mills gives the results of his investigations in regard to the distribution of Bibles while Mr. Schermerhorn makes the more general report. The following is the report as to Illinois: "The settlements in this territory are very small and are much scattered. Those on

* *A Correct View of That Part of the United States Which Lies West of the Alleghany Mountains with Regard to Religion and Morals* (Hartford, 1814).

the Ohio are few, except the Saline and Shawneetown, and about Kaskaskias on the Mississippi at the American bottom. This country is delightfully situated as to climate and is almost a continual prairie, interspersed with copses of wood from Vincennes to St. Louis. From a survey of a road between these places, lately made, it appears that for this distance of 150 miles, the country is for every half mile or mile alternately prairie and open wood land. The American bottom is said to be the finest body of land to be found in the western country. This territory has only two counties at present, Randolph containing 7,275 inhabitants, embracing the settlements on the Ohio and Kaskaskias, and St. Clair 5,007, embracing the settlements opposite St. Louis and Missouri on the upper settlements. Of this county, Cahokia is the county town. In this whole territory is not a solitary Presbyterian minister, though there are several families of this denomination in different settlements. At Kaskaskias they are anxious to obtain a Presbyterian minister of proper character and talents who would be willing to take the charge of an academy. The Baptists have four or five small churches consisting of not more than 120 members. The Methodists have five itinerants, besides some local preachers, and perhaps 600 members in their society. This country was rapidly settled before the war and should peace be restored, will greatly increase in population and ought to receive early attention from Missionary bodies."

Mr. Mills urged the appointment of a missionary to St. Louis, and Salmon Giddings was appointed by the Connecticut society. The report from which these extracts are taken stirred all New England and even interested philanthropists abroad and led to the speedy formation of the American Bible Society.

In 1814, Mr. Mills started on a second tour to the west, accompanied by Rev. Daniel Smith. Filled with enthusiasm for the distribution of Bibles, he wrote: "At Shawneetown we saw Judge Griswold, formerly from Connecticut. He favored us with letters of introduction to Governor Edwards and other gentlemen at Kaskaskias. The Governor has promised to patronize the society should one be formed. This Territory is deplorably destitute of Bibles. In Kaskaskias, a place containing from eighty to one hundred families, there are, it is thought, not more than four or five." In a letter addressed to Jeremiah Evarts, and dated at Shawneetown, January 12, 1815, he reports a second interview with Governor Edwards on the subject of a Bible Society and the continued encouragement he received from him.

From his observations on this trip he reported the population of Illinois at 15,000, retarded in growth by the hostilities of neighboring savages. "Until the last summer, titles of land could not be obtained in this territory. But now land offices are opened, as some portions of the country are extremely fertile it is probable that settlers will begin to flock in, especially if the war should soon terminate." He reports the Eastern settlements as extensive, reaching thirty miles up the Wabash and forty down the Ohio. Many people are employed at the United States Saline works where salt, to the amount of 3,600 bushels, is produced each week. "Shawneetown is the seat of justice. It

contains about 100 houses, situated on the Ohio, subject to be overflowed at high water. But it is continually deluged like most other towns in the territory by a far worse flood of impiety and iniquity." "Kaskaskias is the key to the western settlements and must, therefore, become a place of much importance, although at present it does not greatly flourish. It contains between eighty and one hundred families, two-thirds French Catholics. Governor Edwards assured us that a preacher of popular talents would receive a salary of $1,000 per annum for preaching a part of the time and instructing a small school."

The development of St. Louis meant much to Illinois, particularly to the western settlements. Mr. Mills wrote: "St. Louis has a population of 2,000, one-third Americans; the rest French Catholics. The American families are, many of them, genteel and well informed; but very few of them religious. When we told them that a missionary had been appointed to that station by the Connecticut Missionary Society, they received the information with joy. The most respectable people in town assured us that a young man of talents, piety and liberality of mind would receive an abundant support; $1,200 or $1,400 a year might be relied on by such a man if he would teach a school and preach but a part of his time. When we consider the present situation of St. Louis and the high probability that it will become a flourishing commercial town, we cannot but desire that the person already appointed may speedily be sent. No place in the Western country, New Orleans excepted, has greater natural advantages."

The general conclusions on the religious situation in the regions visited were, as follows: "The character of the settlers is such as to render it peculiarly important that missionaries should early be sent among them. Indeed, they can hardly be said to have a character, assembled as they are from every state in the Union, and originally from almost every nation in Europe. The majority, although by no means regardless of religion, have not yet embraced any fixed principles respecting it. They are ready to receive any impressions which a public speaker may attempt to make. Hence, every species of heretics in the country flock to the new settlements. Hence, also the Baptist and Methodist denominations are exerting themselves to gain a footing in the territory. Some portions of this country are pretty thoroughly supplied with their preachers. Why, then, it may be asked, should we not leave it wholly to them? We answer, the field is large enough for us all. Many of their preachers are exceedingly illiterate. We have mentioned a number of places in which an earnest desire was manifested to have missionaries sent among them. This was not the desire of a few individual Presbyterians merely, but of many of the officers in the civil government of the Territories and some of the most respectable citizens of various denominations. The three Governors and a number of judges in the respective Territories expressed to us their feeling upon the subject. Governor Edwards, of Illinois, has been for some time endeavoring to obtain a

Presbyterian preacher there, and Governor Posy, of Indiana, proposed himself to write to some missionary society to obtain one for his neighborhood."

A final communication was directed to the society after they had returned. "Ever since we came back to this land of Christian privileges, we have been endeavoring to arouse the attention of the public and to direct it toward the West. These exertions have been stimulated by a deep conviction of deplorable state of the country. Never will the impression be erased from our hearts that has been made by beholding those scenes of wide-spreading desolation. The whole country from Lake Erie to Gulf of Mexico is as the valley of the shadow of death. This vast country contains more than a million of inhabitants. Their number is every year increased by a mighty flood of emigration."

We have noticed that one subject of inquiry with Mr. Mills was to be some method of improving the condition of the Africans. Colonization schemes were then occupying the attention of the philanthropic. England had founded her colony of Sierra Leone in 1792, and this method of dealing with a question, which troubled many conciences, seemed to win the support of both Northerners and Southerners. Mills' biographer says that, while in the southern states, he collected facts respecting the condition of "his poor African brethren." In the western states he was endeavoring to arouse the attention of the charitable and influential, because he conceived that their weight in the councils of the nation and their pecuniary aid might be afterwards wanted. In Ohio, Indiana and Illinois he labored much to procure the grant of a township of land, on which a small colony might be established, both for the purpose of making the experiment and evincing the utility of such attempts, and, more particularly, to prepare a number of persons to take the lead in some more enlarged establishment of Liberia as a free colony for negroes on the coast of Africa.

CHAPTER IV.

1812-1826. BEGINNINGS OF MISSIONARY WORK. THE ANDOVER PERIOD.

The main result of these tours for Illinois, outside the interest aroused in its condition, was in the securing the appointment of Salmon Giddings to St. Louis. He was a native of Hartford, Connecticut, brother of the famous anti-slavery leader, Joshua Giddings, of Ohio. He received his education at Williams' College and Andover Seminary.[1] Contemporary notices show that Connecticut felt she was giving her best in sending him to the frontier. He was sent out as a missionary to "vacant settlements" and authorized to preach statedly in any particular place for such a portion of the time as the people should see fit to employ him at their own expense.[2] When he reached St. Louis he picked up a newspaper published in that city, in which he found an article headed "Caution." The public were informed that a society at Hartford, Connecticut, was about to send missionaries to that region and the citizens should be on their guard. He won his way, however, into the confidence of the people. He was active in making trips as far and as often as he could and keeping the East informed of the religious condition of the frontier.[3] He took the settled region under his care, and to the time of his death, in 1828, was the founder and overseer of its churches. Of some twenty churches, eight were in Illinois, located at Kaskaskias, Shoal Creek, Lebanon, Belleville, McCord's Settlement, Turkey Hill, Collinsville and Edwardsville.[4] The first of these Illinois churches was at Belleville, founded August, 1816. The Missionary Society of Connecticut was called on to supply these churches with ministers, and to some extent did so. A number of men were sent out with commissions in rather general terms like that of Salmon Giddings. They were commissioned to Indiana and Illinois, to Illinois and Missouri, to regions "West of the Alleghanies." Sylvester Larned, commissioned to New Orleans, preached at settlements in the Northwest on his way. David Tenney, of Harvard College and Andover Seminary, went to Shoal Creek in 1818 and died there the following year. John Milcot Ellis, educated at Dartmouth and Andover, was sent to

1 M. K. Whittlesey, *The Record of Fifty Years*, (*Historical Papers*. Ottawa, 1894).
2 T. Lippincott, in *Home Missionary*, August, 1846.
3 *The Panoplist*.
4 J. E. Roy, *Fifty Years of Home Missions* (*Hist. Papers*. Ottawa, 1894).

Kaskaskias, and lived to accomplish a great work for Illinois. Mills, Giddings, Tenney and Ellis were all from Andover, the fruit of Andover's missionary enthusiasm, so conspicuous in the first part of the century.[1]

Most of the men sent out by the Missionary Society of Connecticut up to 1826, were transients, so far as Illinois was concerned. In 1826, the year of the founding of the National Society, E. G. Howe was at Diamond Grove. Thomas Lippincott was commissioned as missionary in 1829, although he had come to St. Louis from Connecticut as early as 1817 and removed to Illinois in 1818. Besides these commissioned missionaries, who were permanently at work in Illinois by the year 1826, there were few resident New Englanders. Mills mentioned Judge Griswold, of Connecticut, in Shawneetown in 1815. In 1817, the Collins brothers came from Litchfield, Connecticut, from Lyman Beecher's church. Later other members of the family joined them. They established themselves opposite St. Louis. They were energetic, prosperous people, establishing tan yard, lumber mill, farm, store, distillery, and running a steamboat on the Mississippi. They were strong in principle as well as energy and gave up their distillery when Lyman Beecher's great temperance sermon convinced them of the wrong of it.

One sister married Salmon Giddings, and as a family they marked not only the geography of that part of Illinois with its Collinsville and Lebanon, named after the Litchfield county town of that name, but also had a strong influence on the religious and political history of the State.[2]

The year 1826 brought a change in missionary method. The American Home Missionary Society was founded, surely needed to avoid the conflicts of the New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania societies. The policy of sending itinerants was dropped. Hereafter, men were appointed to definite places and a more stable work begun.

1 J. E. Roy, *Fifty Years of Home Missions* (*Hist. Papers*, Ottawa, 1894); *Andover Obituary Record.*

2 W. H. Collins, *Congregationalists of Western Illinois* (*Hist. Papers.* Ottawa, 1894).

CHAPTER V.

1826-1833. THE YALE PERIOD.

A second period of New England missionary activity may well include the years between 1826 and 1833, when the close of the Black Hawk War opened the northern part of the State to settlement and New Englanders began to come in, in large numbers, and demand churches like those they had left. Till that time, the religious efforts of New England for the frontier were directed toward a population with social customs and religious ideas different from her own.

The new society assumed Ellis and Howe as its missionaries; and, in the years that immediately followed, commissioned Solomon Hardy, of Andover, to Shoal Creek; J. G. Bergen, of New Jersey, to Springfield; John Matthews, to Kaskaskias; Cyrus Watson, of Connecticut, to Edwardsville, and Aratus Kent, of Connecticut, to Galena.[1] Meanwhile, Stephen Bliss, of New Hampshire, had been adopted as pastor by the church founded in Edwards county by a New England colony coming by way of West Virginia;[2] commissioned by the society, he was, by 1829, urging missionaries for Wayne, White, Gallatin and Pope counties.[3]

As the religious work for Illinois up to 1826 had emanated so largely from Andover, so the period now contemplated was enriched by a strong religious movement, arising from Yale College and yet in direct line of succession to the Andover movement, through the efforts of John Milcot Ellis. When he was ordained in the Old South church in Boston, in 1825, the charge contained the instructions, that he was "to build up an institution of learning which shall bless the West for all time."[4] He was located at Kaskaskia from 1825 to 1828, and in 1828 he undertook, for the society, a trip through the "upper counties," visiting Edwardsville, Carrollton, Jacksonville and Springfield. All the time he had in mind a desirable location for the school he had been charged to found.

1 Roy, *Fifty Years of Home Missions* (*Hist. Papers*, Ottawa, 1894).
2 G. R. Parrish, *History of Congregational Association of Southern Illinois* (Chicago, 1892).
3 *Home Missionary*, 1892.
4 Roy, *Fifty Years of Home Missions*.

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Jacksonville particularly pleased him, the church had grown rapidly and desired him as pastor. It seemed the most promising part of the State. He wrote: "Sangamon, Morgan and Green counties are taking the lead in this state. This is that part of Illinois which now is, and, from all appearances, is destined to be the most populous and wealthy. It is even proverbial that it possesses a rare combination of beauty of prospect, richness of soil and salubrity of climate. A spirit of industry and enterprise is found in these counties, not to be found in this state or elsewhere nor in Missouri. Many English farmers, and many from New England and New York, are effecting a happy state of agricultural improvement. No country can exceed this for farming. Common crops of corn yield fifty to seventy-five bushels per acre; wheat, of the best quality, too, twenty-five bushels per acre, thirty-five not uncommon. Through this flourishing country flows the Illinois river, admitted to be without a rival in beauty and excellence of navigation. The market on the Illinois was opened the present year by steam. Eight or ten steamboats have already visited the Morgan landing since the spring and more are expected."

Mr. Ellis made this trip in the spring of 1828. By September he had removed to Jacksonville and had secured between two and three thousand dollars for his "seminary of learning." The half-quarter section purchased for its location he described as "the most beautiful spot I have ever seen." John Ellis, with Thomas Lippincott, had been appointed as an educational committee by the Presbytery of Missouri, which then included Illinois. They had asked aid from the Presbytery for the Jacksonville school, but were refused, and had then raised the money mentioned above by circulating an "outline" through Bond, Sangamon and Morgan counties.[1]

In the early part of 1829, the "Illinois Association" had been formed at Yale College. Mr. Theron Baldwin read, in December, 1828, an essay before the Society of Inquiry, at Yale, on Individual Effort in the Cause of Christ. It stirred Mr. Mason Grosvenor to thoughts of immediate activity and to the idea of an association of young men of like mind, to such an end. He talked with other young men in the college and theological seminary suggesting the formation of an association whose members should pledge themselves to go West as home missionaries, to locate near each other for mutual advice and encouragement and to found a college; in short, to give themselves to the development of the frontier.[2] Just at this time they read in the "Home Missionary" of Mr. Ellis' plan for a seminary of learning at Jacksonville. Mr. Grosvenor immediately wrote him, told him of the suggested Yale organization, and suggested that the two projects might be combined. When his answer was received, after the two months it took for a letter to reach Illinois and its answer to return, it proved so satisfactory that the organization was at once completed with the following compact:[3]

1 *Home Missionary*, August, 1828; September, 1828; May, 1830. *Historic Morgan and Classic Jacksonville*

2 Samuel Willard, *Memorial of the Life and Work of Dr. J. M. Sturtevant* (*Illinois School Report, 1885-86*), 98.

3 *Julian Sturtevant. An Autobiography* (Fleming H Revell & Co. 1896), 138.

"Believing in the entire alienation of the natural heart from God, in the necessity of the influences of the Holy Spirit for its renovation, and that these influences are not to be expected without the use of means; deeply impressed, also, with the destitute condition of the Western section of our country and the urgent claims of its inhabitants upon the benevolent at the East, and in view of the fearful crisis evidently approaching, and which we believe can only be averted by speedy and energetic measures on the part of the friends of religion and literature in the older States; and, believing that evangelical religion and education must go hand in hand to the successful accomplishment of this desirable object—we, the undersigned, hereby express our readiness to go to the State of Illinois for the purpose of establishing a seminary of learning, such as shall be best adapted to the exigencies of that country, a part of us to engage in instruction in the Seminary, the others to occupy, as preachers, important stations in the surrounding country, provided the undertaking be deemed practicable and the location approved; and provided, also, the providence of God permit us to engage in it.

Signed—Theron Baldwin, William Kirby,
John F. Brooks, Julian M. Sturtevant,
Mason Grosvenor, Asa Turner,
Elisha Jenney,

Theological Department, Yale College, Feb. 21, 1829."

This was the first "band" of the kind to take to itself a particular field of effort Five other men joined the "association" later from Yale and Andover. Their first effort was to start a subscription for Illinois College; Jeremiah Day, President of Yale College, and other professors, approved the plan and gave their aid in raising $10,000 to help in the work. The institution was to be controlled by ten trustees, seven of whom were to be the men who had signed the compact of the association, while the remaining three were to be elected by the Illinois subscribers.[1] The plan was submitted to the American Home Missionary Society, which pledged its endorsement and countenance to the educational plans and agreed to send the men to Illinois and provide their support so far as necessary.

As a matter of fact the original gift of $10,000 was by no means the end of Eastern giving to Illinois College. For several years it was almost entirely dependent on the gifts of Eastern friends, and later often sent some representative of the college, President Beecher, Mr. Baldwin or Mr. Sturtevant, to gather funds in New England.

In September, 1829, the association sent J. M. Sturtevant and Theron Baldwin to Illinois to complete arrangements for combining the two enterprises. They brought with them the promise of the $10,000, and, on December 18, 1829, an agreement was concluded between the original stockholders and the "Illinois Association of Yale College." The stockholders voted their confidence in their new eastern members, thanking them and J. M. Ellis and the non-resident contributors. The new college opened its doors January 4, 1830, with nine students and J. M. Sturtevant as chief instructor.

Without dwelling here on the influence of this college on the development of Illinois, we will notice a little further the work of the "Yale Band" for this state. While the interests of these theological students was always so strong in Illinois College as to serve as a bond between them and a place where they might sometimes meet, their lives for the most part were devoted to other regions in Illinois and

1 *Julian M. Sturtevant. An Autobiography*, 139-141.

other interests. It was an advantage for Illinois, not to be calculated, that so early in her history men of broad education and an interest in the broadest and best development in the state should have devoted themselves to her interests.* It is fitting to record these names with some brief account of their labors.

The seven men who formed the original association were Mason Grosvenor, Theron Baldwin, John F. Brooks, Elisha Jenney, William Kirby, Asa Turner and Julian M. Sturtevant. Those who joined later were Romulus Barnes, William Carter, Flavel Bascom, Albert Hale and Lucien Farnham.

Mason Grosvenor[1] was born in Pomfret, Connecticut, September 13, 1800. He graduated from Yale College in 1827, and studied three years at the Divinity School. He was the prime mover in the organization of the "Yale Band" and took an active part in raising funds for Illinois College; but he was prevented by ill-health from going to Illinois till 1853, when he became for some time a teacher in Illinois College.

Theron Baldwin[1] was born in Goshen, Litchfield county, Connecticut, in 1801. He graduated from Yale in 1827, studied two years in the Divinity School, and went to Illinois in 1829. He was a trustee of Illinois College till his death, and always active in its interests. He was pastor at Vandalia and Godfrey, where he organized and conducted Monticello Female Seminary. For some years he was agent of the American Home Missionary Society for Illinois, and his reports are notable for their elegance of style and breadth of view. He was promoter and secretary of the Collegiate and Theological Educational Society at the West. Mr. Sturtevant said of him, "he always meant business."[3]

John Flavel Brooks[1] was born in Westmoreland, New York, December 3, 1801. He graduated from Hamilton College in 1828, studied three years at Yale Divinity School, and went, in 1831, to Illinois as Home Missionary to St. Clair county. He preached in Collinsville and Belleville, but preaching gave way to teaching, and he is best known in Illinois for his long years of service in teaching. He taught school in Belleville, and, in 1837, he opened a teachers' seminary in Waverly, one of the earliest attempts to give normal instruction to teachers. His seminary was not, however, successful, and, in 1840, he went to Springfield where he opened an academy in which special attention was given to the education of teachers. He continued to teach till the academy gave way to the public high school, and afterwards taught in a small private school till his death, in 1887. As teacher "no one else has served so long and none more devotedly."

* *Julian Sturtevant. An Autobiography*, 181; *Historic Morgan and Classic Jacksonville: Home Missionary*, May, 1836; Samuel Willard, *Education in Illinois* (*Illinois School Report*, 1883-84), 112.

1 *Obituary Record of Yale College.*

2 *Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale College*, No. II.

3 *Julian M. Sturtevant. An Autobiography*, 151.

Elisha Jenney[1] was born at Fairhaven, Massachusetts, November 7, 1803. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1827, and studied at Yale Divinity School for three years. He was pastor at Alton, Waverly, Monticello, Spring Creek and Island Grove, up to 1849. From 1849 to 1858, he undertook evangelistic work for the Alton Presbytery. In 1858, he became agent of the Home Missionary Society for Central and Southern Illinois. He died at his home, in Galesburg, in 1882.[1]

William Kirby[3] was born in Middletown, Connecticut, July 10, 1805. He graduated from Yale College in 1827 and studied in Yale Divinity School for three years. He then became an instructor in Illinois College for two years and then pastor to the churches in Union Grove, Blackstone Grove and Mendon, successively, till 1845. In ten years he organized forty-one churches. For several years before his death, in 1851, he was a general agent for the society in Illinois, especially valuable for his fine business capacity, though he himself never received more than $400 per year.

Asa Turner[2] was born in Templeton, Massachusetts, in 1799, graduated from Yale College in 1827, and studied two years in the Yale Divinity School. His early work was in Quincy, though later he was identified with Iowa and was one of the founders of Iowa College.

J. M. Sturtevant[3] was born in Warren, Connecticut, in 1805, and graduated from Yale College in 1821. He became, in 1830, the first teacher in Illinois College, continued work in that college till 1885, and for many years was its president. In his later years he published several books on religious and theological subjects, and always devoted himself to the educational development of the West.

The following are the men who joined the association after 1829: Romulus Barnes, William Carter, Flavel Bascom, Albert Hale, Lucien Farnham.

Romulus Barnes[4] was born in Bristol, Connecticut, October 16, 1800. He graduated from Yale College in 1828 and studied for three years in the Yale Divinity School. He served as home missionary in Peoria, Knox and McDonough counties and started a seminary at Washington, Tazewell county. He died in 1846, at the age of forty-six.

William Carter was born in New Canaan, Connecticut, in 1803, and graduated at Yale in 1828. He remained at Yale in the Divinity School, and as a tutor till 1833, when he went to the Congregational church in Jacksonville, and remained in Illinois for the rest of his life. He was pastor for many years (1838–1866) at Pittsfield, and resided there till his death in 1871. He was a trustee of Illinois College and director of Chicago Theological Seminary.

Flavel Bascom was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1804, and graduated from Yale in 1828. For three years he was a student in the Divinity School, and for three years more a tutor in the college. He worked in Peoria, Bureau, Putnam and Tazewell counties. He

1 *Seventh General Catalogue of the Divinity School of Yale University*, 14; Pillsbury, *Historical Sketch of Illinois State Normal University* (*Illinois School Report, 1887-88*), 90; Willard, *Education in Illinois* (*School Report, 1883-84*), 119.

2 *Obituary Record of Yale College.* 3 *Ibid.* 4 *Ibid.*

ASA TURNER.

was pastor in Galesburg, Dover, Princeton, Hinsdale, and, from 1840 to 1850, in the First Presbyterian church of Chicago. He was one of the founders of Beloit College and one of its trustees for thirty-seven years. He was also a trustee for Knox College and a director for thirty years of Chicago Theological Seminary.[1]

Albert Hale was born in Glastonbury, Connecticut, in 1799, graduated from Yale in 1827, and studied for three years in the Divinity School. From 1831 to 1836, he was a home missionary in Illinois. He was agent of the Missionary Society from 1836 to 1839, and then became pastor of the Second Presbyterian church of Springfield, where he remained till his retirement in 1867, "a fearless advocate of human rights and Christian patriotism." "The missionary tours of Mr. Hale and Mr. Baldwin extended from the Ohio river to the northern border of the state, and their good results continue to this day."[2]

Lucien Farnham was born July 8, 1799, at Lisbon, Connecticut. He graduated from Amherst College in 1827, and from Andover Seminary in 1830. He was thus the only member of the "band" who never studied at Yale. He went as home missionary to Illinois in 1830, and preached there till his death, in 1874. He preached in Jacksonville, Princeton, Hadley, Batavia, Lockport and Newark.[3]

Before this group of men had entered Illinois to advance with its population toward the center and north, an isolated settlement had appeared in the extreme northern part of the state where, at Galena, the government lead mines were attracting a rude population. In April, 1828, a resident of the settlement made an appeal to the Home Missionary Society for a resident missionary.[4] He justified his appeal by giving a description of the condition and prospects of Galena. At that time it had 1,200 to 1,500 inhabitants, although only two years before there had been but fifty people there. Two-thirds of the present population were from the United States; the remainder were mostly Irish Catholics. The United States agent reported five million pounds of lead as taken from the smelting establishments. "Every steamboat brings workers and by July it is thought the number will be 10,000." There was no clergymen, Protestant or Catholic, and no school. A movement was on foot for erecting a place of worship and starting a subscription for the support of a clergyman; two names were down for $125. July 7th, the same correspondent reinforced his appeal by saying the population had reached 10,000, and the subscription $400.

Meanwhile, Aratus Kent, of Suffield, Connecticut, had graduated from Yale in 1816, and studied theology in New York for four years. During the year 1822–1823, when he was a student at Princeton Theological Seminary, he had offered his services to the Missionary Society, asking to be sent "to a place so hard that no one else would take it." In March, 1829, he was commissioned to Galena. After a

1 *Obituary Record of Yale College; Seventh General Catalogue of the Divinity School of Yale University*, 14.

2 *Julian M. Sturtevant. An Autobiography*, 243.

3 *General Catalogue of the Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass, 1880*, 75.

4 *Home Missionary*, April, 1828.

journey of eighteen and a half days he reached his destination with a feeling of elation that all the broad region above St. Louis was "his diocese," since there was no clergymen anywhere in it. Thus began a service of thirty-nine years for northern Illinois. For nineteen years his labors centered about Galena. He then became agent of the society for northern Illinois. He did much for the religious and educational interests of this part of the state. He helped to found Beloit College, and was its first president.[1]

When he reached Galena, he did not find conditions so favorable as he had hoped. "A combination of unpropitious circumstances has already produced and threatens still great embarrassments in this place and the adjoining country. The regulations of government are oppressive. I shall not take it upon me to say that they require too great a proportion of the lead, but the requisition that those who live fifty miles out should deliver their tithes here, and the restrictions by which people are prevented from cultivating the soil and are then made to depend on markets a thousand miles distant, are oppressive beyond endurance. The merchants and smelters have sold their goods on credit to such an unwarrantable extent that the country is become bankrupt. The price of lead is so low that, under present disadvantages, it will scarcely pay for digging, smelting and conveying to market. In addition to all this, the capitalists, who generally live at a distance, are taking the alarm and are using oppressive measures to call in their funds. The consequence of all which is, that the people are fast retreating, and the present prospect is, that but few, comparatively, will remain here through the winter."[2]

In the fall of 1829, Mr. Kent made a tour to St. Louis, and, on his return by way of the Illinois river, visited the settlement of Union Grove, where a little community of twenty families had built a church, the first north of Springfield and a 100 miles above it. These families were all from the south. Some, coming originally from Tennessee, had first settled in Bond county and founded Bethel church, to which Thomas A. Spielman was commissioned in 1829. Some came by way of Bond county from the Red Oak church, Brown county, Ohio, led by their pastor, Rev. James Gilliland from South Carolina. Others came directly from the church of Rev. John Rankin, in Ripley, Brown county, Ohio. Most, if not all, of these people had left the south to escape the evils of slavery, and their churches were anti-slavery churches. Aratus Kent preached the first sermon to the new settlement and reported to the society their desire for a minister. Rev. John McDonald, "a western man," was commissioned to Union Grove in 1831.[3]

By 1830, even before the Black Hawk War, Mr. Kent is exploiting the excellence of northern Illinois and calling for settlers: "I am still of the opinion that this mining country will settle with unexampled rapidity when it is thrown into market, as I think it will be, within two years. Believing as I do that the soil, the minerals, the salubrity and the water power afford a combination of inducements to settlers

1 C. A. Church, *History of Rockford*, 295; *Home Missionary*, March, 1829.
2 *Home Missionary*, 1829.
3 Correspondence with H. E. Leeper, Princeton, Illinois.

unequalled in the United States, and such as will soon render it a populous district, I am extremely anxious that laborers should take the field in time." He pleads for a colony to come out like that of Plymouth Rock. They should come from principle. "Bibles, tracts and missionaries are indispensable, but they must be accompanied by intelligent and matured piety in the ordinary walks of life."

By 1831, Galena had recovered her prosperity. By 1833, Mr. Kent impressed by the military defences of the frontier, fancies a line of evangelical posts along the northern boundary of the state. This is suggested by a second visit to Union Grove and one to Fort Dearborn, where he found Jeremiah Porter, just arrived with the troops from the north and ready to take up missionary duties among soldiers and civilians. He would have Union Grove and Fort Dearborn serve as evangelical posts to resist the onsets of sin just as the military post was set for the protection of the country. Mr. Kent's pride in Galena is shown in his comment on Chicago at this time: "It is an important station, and if the pier now commencing should be permanent and the harbor become a safe one, Chicago will undoubtedly grow as rapidly as any village in the western country." In 1841, he wrote, that "more business is done in Galena than any place either in the state or territory."[1]

In 1829, Aratus Kent found Union Grove in Putnam county, isolated by a 100 miles of uninhabited prairie from Springfield. It was the navigable Illinois river that thus drew settlers into the center and north of the state. In 1831, a settlement was formed at Pekin, and a church founded the following year, even during the progress of the Indian war, showing how settlers were crowding into the Indian country. In 1828, the "upper counties" were Sangamon, Morgan and Greene, according to John Ellis. In that same year another writer describes Greene, Morgan, Sangamon, Tazewell, Peoria, Fulton, Schuyler, Adams and Pike, as counties in the northern part of the state.[2] He says settlements in Morgan and Sangamon began as early as 1820. All of these counties, except Tazewell, were in the military bounty tract which had been surveyed and laid off into counties to 41°. Six of these—Peoria, Fulton, Schuyler, Calhoun, Pike and Adams—had been organized and courts held. "Communication with other parts of the state is at times very difficult, on account of ice, bad ferries and overflowing of the Illinois and its tributaries."

Rev. J. G. Bergen was sent into this region in 1828, receiving courtesies from Governor Edwards, at Belleville, on his way. He found Springfield a town of 1,800 inhabitants, with traders coming in from twenty to forty miles around. In 1830, he writes: "One never beheld a fairer or more inviting region than the upper counties to which a tide of emigration rolls with an unexampled rapidity." "We must have pious laymen. Let such individuals consider well and they will find the appeal is strong to their interest and duty, for the present and the future, for themselves and the generation which is to

1 *Home Missionary*, 1831.
2 *Home Missionary*, 1828.

come."[1] He, too, reports the advanced settlement of Union Grove and Pekin, the latter "only came into market last autumn." In 1831, a writer from Vandalia calls attention to the fact that the missionaries are altogether neglecting the south and east of the state for the north and west, and that, too, when the bulk of the population is south of Vandalia.

This then was the state of settlement in 1833, at the close of the Black Hawk War. The majority of the population was in the southern part of the state, but there was more of interest and promise on the northern frontier. Immediately upon the close of the war the eastern emigration, which had already begun and had had an influence upon the "upper counties" of 1828, was increased to a great extent. Not without influence upon would-be settlers must have been the appeals of missionaries published and distributed widely as they were through the East. They never failed to describe the beauty and fertility of the country, its promise of future fruitfulness, and the need of "pious families" as settlers to possess the land for righteousness. Who could resist the optimism and hopefulness of Mr. Bergen, as he wrote, in 1829, from Springfield:[2] "It has appeared to me after a year's observation of climate, soil, production and great water privileges in these parts, having the Wabash on the east, the Ohio on the south, the Mississippi on the west, the Illinois and Sangamon through the center, and the inexhaustible mines on the north, that here are held out the brightest and richest prospects of abundance, usefulness and comfort to thousands in the eastern and middle states. And is not *now* the time while there is a stagnation of business in the old states, a depression in many of your great establishments and hundreds are thrown out of employment, and here the best selections are yet to be made? A thorough conviction on these points by many letters from my relations and others in this country, together with a full belief that our population in the West was out-growing the institutions of religion, science and common learning, induced me with my little family, voluntarily to lay down our many endearments in the East and to take up our stand here. When I first saw Mr. Ellis, more than a year ago, he told me he was fixed in his purpose to abide in this state, while up to that hour he could scarcely see a ray of hope dawning on our cause in Illinois."

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1 *Ibid.* December, 1828; 1831.

2 *Home Missionary*, June, 1829.

CHAPTER VI.

1833-1836. GROWTH OF THE CHURCHES IN NORTHERN AND EASTERN ILLINOIS.

Chicago was the first place to spring into importance after the Black Hawk War. In 1833,[1] Theron Baldwin, of the "Yale Band," visited the place and thus described it: "Chicago is destined soon to be a place of great importance. It is fast becoming a great thoroughfare, furnishing, as it does, the only harbor on all that portion of the lake; especially, when the canal or railroad is opened, there must be a vast amount of business drawn to that point. It has increased with astonishing rapidity the present season. I was told that since the opening of spring, not far from seventy buildings of all sorts had been erected, or were under way. There are more than twenty stores of different kinds, and, I regret to add, that with few exceptions they traffic in ardent spirits. I saw nothing in Chicago to induce the belief that the morals of the people generally were below other new towns of a similar character. No instance of intoxication on the part of the white man fell under my notice. But the degraded Potawattamies, who on some days throng the streets, presented a most disgusting and affecting spectacle. One could hardly walk out at any time without coming in contact with more or less cases of beastly intoxication among them." It was on this trip that the deserted forts, constructed as protection against the Indians, were used as preaching places."

A little earlier, Jeremiah Porter, educated at Williams' College and Princeton Theological Seminary, was commissioned as missionary to the military post at Sault de Saint Marie. When Major John Fowle was sent with troops to build a pier and cut the sand bar at Fort Dearborn, he asked Mr. Porter to go with him. He at once found material for a church, many of whose members had been born in New England. Writing on his arrival, he said: "A papal priest reached this place from St. Louis a fortnight since and I hope Providence has sent a counteracting influence here just in season." Mr. Porter was not so optimistic about Chicago as was Mr. Baldwin. "Iniquity has abounded here," he wrote. "The awful scenes of 'the treaty,' the unprovoked and wanton violence of the Sabbath, the disregard by

1 *Home Missionary*, 1833.

multitudes of the necessary laws and customs of well regulated communities, the ridiculous imitation of the follies of the most profligate cities of our land, have made Christians tremble for the future prospects of this place." This same year both Mr. Porter and Mr. Kent visited the settlement at Fountaindale, or DuPage, where were a cluster of families from Vermont, and founded a church there.

The valley of the Fox river and the region between the Des Plaines river and Lake Michigan now became a favorite place for settlement. In 1834, Rev. N. C. Clarke was sent to DuPage and became the active missionary and organizer of churches of all the Fox and DesPlaines river region. A grant for a railroad between Chicago and Galena shows the rising importance of this region. Churches were founded in Plainville (1836), St. Charles (1835), Elgin (1836), Aurora (1838).

In 1837, the First Congregational church of Rockford was organized. Its early establishment in the town, its peaceful history, its strong and influential position, are typical of the history of these Congregational churches in most northern Illinois towns. The first permanent settlers of Rockford were Germanicus Kent and Thatcher Blake, the former a native of Suffield, Connecticut, and a brother of Aratus Kent, the missionary at Galena. Thatcher Blake was from Maine. One came to build a saw mill, the other to farm. This was in 1834. Mr. Kent's family joined him, coming from Galena in the spring of 1835. Other people had by this time settled in the locality. On the second Sunday of June, 1835, the first religious service was conducted in the house of Germanicus Kent by his brother, Aratus Kent, and the church was organized May 5, 1837, with nine members. Its first church building was made possible by gifts from friends of the early settlers in New York, amounting to $800. The church seems to have supported its minister alone from the beginning. The longest pastorate has been that of Rev. Henry M. Goodwin, from 1850 to 1872. In 1849, a second Congregational church was founded, and, in 1858, a third; both daughters of the first. Rockford has always been a stronghold of Congregationalism.[1]

Through the rest of the 30s and 40s, there was persistent and increasing demand for missionaries as the country filled up with eastern settlers. Churches generally became self-supporting, such was the material prosperity of the country. Yet in 1844, of forty-six Congregational churches, all but two were helped by the society; and that same year there was a call for twenty missionaries for northern Illinois, many of the towns offering to pay part, at least, of the salary. It was clear that during these years the southern part of the state was neglected by, or inhospitable to, the eastern missionaries. In 1847, about Jacksonville, which in 1828 was the center of missionary work, twelve churches were without ministers. The new population coming to the northern part of the state showed tastes agreeable to the missionary, and the work in the north and west was urgent and prosperous One pastor wrote of his parish, as follows: "Permit me to notice a fact which finds a parallel only in the early history of New England; that Christians seem to be roused to the importance of lay-

1 Church, *History of Rockford*, 28, 87, 306.

ing well the foundations of society in the new but rapidly rising communities of the West. They have an interest not only to know, but to decide what shall be the moral and religious tone of feeling. Christians at this day, stimulated by a sense of duty, cheerfully leave the favored scenes of older states to exert their influences in forming the character of the infant portions of our country."

The year 1851 marked an advance in the economic development of the state and also a development of her religious interests. This was due to the opening of the Illinois Central railroad, which made land available for settlement which had hitherto been so inaccessible as to be undesirable. The missionary saw the importance of such a road when it was first talked about. The main plan was a line from Cairo to Galena with east and west connections, and this meant access to both a southern and an eastern market. William Kirby, of the "Yale Band," estimated that no less than fifty-seven counties would be crossed, or nearly approached.[1] "The scarcity of timber and remoteness from the natural channels of trade have been the great obstacles to the temporal and religious interests of the interior counties which will be reached by this vast chain of iron roads. These obstacles will now be removed. The timber and coal of the southern counties will supply the deficiency of the middle and northern; and the ease of finding the best markets will allure emigrants of every description from the older states. This quickening of the stagnant life in so large a portion of the state cannot but operate favorably to the spread of religion. Enterprise is both the result and the harbinger of its triumphs."[2]

In 1852, Enoch Kingsbury, the pioneer missionary of eastern Illinois, who had been in Danville since 1832, uttered a plea for missionaries for nine eastern counties where none were then stationed. This led to investigation, and the report, that there was a region nearly 100 miles in width from Kankakee to the Ohio river in which the work of the society had barely been commenced. In eight contiguous counties, containing a population of more than 30,000, no missionary had ever been stationed.[3] By 1855, the main line of the railroad was completed. There followed an increase in the value of land and its productions and a large increase in population. Many villages sprang into existence or became of new importance. Of these were Centralia, where were the repair shops of the road and the homes of many of the men, where both freight and passenger trains were held over Sunday; LaSalle and Peru, the terminus of the grand canal, and the meeting place of the lines from Chicago, Galena and Cairo. At LaSalle, Rev. William H. Collins, of the family who settled Collinsville in 1818, organized a church and tried to introduce a higher tone into the money-making spirit of the place. Here he preached to Baptists, Unitarians, Universalists, "Moralists," "Infidels," and

1 *Home Missionary* (Annual Report) 1851.
2 *Home Missionary*, 1852. 3 *Ibid*, 1853.

"Skeptics," to men glorying in their shame, distillers, bartenders who say that they "like to hear a good string of common sense well fixed up."[1]

The "road" itself did much to help the church in the new communities. Land was given for church sites, freight houses were loaned for religious services till churches could be built. It observed the Sabbath by stopping all work on its lines. It contributed to the support of religious institutions and employed colporteurs to work among its own workmen. It also showed its interest in anti-slavery agitation by aiding fugitive slaves in their flight to Chicago.[2]

This last stage of the opening of churches which took place in eastern Illinois, practically covers the time till 1860. Our outline indicates how thorough was the work of the eastern missionary in reaching all parts of the state. It indicates how he sought to impress the ideals of New England upon this state, so rapid in its growth, so important to the nation in the stand it took in the following years, reflecting as concretely as it is possible to imagine the real effect of the moral and religious ideals, persistently proclaimed by the New Englander, to a large population made up of those by no means naturally inclined or predisposed to these ideals.

1 *Home Missionary*, January, 1857.
2 W. H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*. (New York, 1898), 97.

CHAPTER VII.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE NEW ENGLAND PIONEERS.

Although many of the communities were settled from all parts of the Union, yet an examination of the mere names on the map of Illinois proves its intimate connection with New England. This often indicates merely the desire of a leading family or influential individual to use again some old and loved name as Lebanon; but sometimes it is in evidence of the sentiment of a colony moving from New England as in the case of Bunker Hill, Macoupin county, or Marine, Madison county, which was settled by a company of sea-captains and and seamen from Connecticut. It might indicate a colony from the very place after which the new settlement was named, as Guilford, Adams county, and Wethersfield, Henry country.

Quincy, Elgin, Granville, in fact all the northern towns, had New Englanders as a large portion of their population; but the most conspicuous example of the New England colony migrating as a religious organization, was furnished by the founders of Princeton. Theirs was a quaint story typical in many ways of the hardships of the early settlers, yet enriched and idealized by their appreciation of their connection with the religious past and their sense of responsibility for the future of an important part of their country. The prime mover was Deacon Ebenezer S. Phelps, of Northampton, Mass.[1] The object, as published in the circular issued at the time, was "to advance the cause of Christ by planting religious institutions in the virgin soil of the West and aiding the cause of Christian education in its various departments." The foundation of this colony was regarded as a matter of grave importance in Northampton and vicinity. The meeting of the council to organize the colony church in 1831, aroused great interest in that place and in the adjoining towns. It drew together a very large congregation. Eighteen people proposed to unite with this church. The churches represented in the council were from Northampton, Beechertown and Putney. Rev. Ichabod S. Spencer, of Northampton, delivered a discourse on the text: "Fear not, little flock; for it is your father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." This sermon is still preserved as a sort of

1 *The Hampshire Colony. Historical Papers* (Princeton, 1881).

sacred relic in Princeton and sometimes read in their church services. The council was followed by a series of very successful revival services.

At last the little colony started, though rumors of Indian hostilities deterred many from joining and several families postponed their removal, while a few members had gone to Illinois in advance in 1830. The main body met in Albany and embarked in a canal boat May 7, 1831, with Cotton Mather, of Hadley, for captain. They entered into a contract not to travel on the Sabbath, and on the first Sunday they rested in Amsterdam. These names and circumstances were pleasantly suggestive to them of early Pilgrim history. The next Sabbath they were in Buffalo. They expected to find a schooner here bound for Chicago, but were disappointed. They took a steamboat to Detroit and there found a schooner sailing for Chicago, but without room either for themselves or their goods. They contracted to have their goods taken on the next trip, two or three months later, and set out with teams for Chicago. In a few days a pair of horses died, and the eight young men of the party had to travel on foot. In this manner they reached Mottville, on the St. Joseph river.

Up to this time they had no definite locality selected for a home; but they now learned that Mr. Jones, who had come out the previous autumn to pick out a place, was at Bailey's Point on the Vermilion river, and had built there a double cabin for their reception. The young men decided to make the rest of the journey by water. They bought two canoes, lashed them together, put their trunks aboard, and started down the St. Joseph. It is a rapid stream and they reached the portage, sixty-five miles, in twelve hours. Here they hired an ox team to transport them to a lake or swamp, the source of the Kankakee river, a branch of the Illinois. They were told it was 160 miles to Ottawa. They expected to make that distance in three or four days and laid in provisions accordingly. They found navigation on the Kankakee swamp and river much less rapid than on the St. Joseph, and by Saturday night they were still some distance from the union of the Kankakee and the Des Plaines. Rain induced them to tie to a tree for the night, and Sunday morning found them lying in several inches of water in the bottom of their boats. After building a fire and drying their clothes, they reluctantly decided to travel that Sabbath day, for the first time on their journey. Their only rations for some time had been slippery elm and bass-wood bark. Sunday night they spent on shore in a drenching rain.

Monday was clear and they soon reached an Indian encampment and applied in vain for food. Pressing onward they heard a cow-bell in the distance. Leaving the river and ascending the bluff, they found a cabin occupied by a white family, who could give them nothing but mush and milk. To prepare this the woman shelled some corn and ground it in a hand mill. The young men ate just enough to appease their hunger. It was still twenty miles to Ottawa and they pushed on. About sunset they saw a cabin on the south side of the river, and on inquiry how far it was to Ottawa, they were told, "This is Ottawa." Here they feasted on mush, milk and honey, and

slept on a puncheon floor. The next day they reached a point on the Illinois, opposite the present city of LaSalle, and the following day joined the rest of their company at the cabin at Bailey's Point.

These last had arrived the same day only a few hours in advance. This was June 9, five weeks and two days since leaving Albany. The journey to Chicago had been exceedingly dreary and fatiguing. With much difficulty and delay they procured other teams at Chicago to take them the 100 miles to Bailey's Point. They found the Vermilion river in flood and were ferried across one by one, reclining on the bottom of a dug-out, lest it be upset. After some rest, they decided to locate on the prairie east and south of Bureau Creek timber; but they found the prairie almost too wet to travel on. Finally, leaving their wagon stalled in a creek, their guide undertook to pilot them to a certain cabin to pass the night; but they failed to find it and slept under the open sky. In the morning they could have no breakfast till they went back five miles to their wagon.

In the late summer, others joined them, coming out by way of the Ohio canal and the Ohio, Mississippi and Illinois rivers, sending their goods by way of New Orleans. The members of the colony kept dispersing to other parts for settlement, so that by November, 1831, there were but four resident members of the colony church and they had to go to the older settlements on the Illinois for awhile for fear of Indians. Three heads of families died in the first month. Such hardships incident to the journey to the new country and to the first year or two of settlement, were followed by hardships arising from the new conditions of living, particularly the sickness and death that bore so hard upon the people for many years. Here the missionary was particularly tried; for, not only did those sorrows come to his own family, but he must minister to the sick and dying in other families, and often felt with peculiar keenness the loss to infant settlements of those who had for it the same high aims that he cherished. Cholera was severe in 1833. Carrollton lost one-sixteenth of its population, Jacksonville and Quincy fifty of their inhabitants. In 1849, there was a serious cholera epidemic in Belleville, 250 dying of a population of 3,000; and, in 1851, it is again mentioned in Hancock county. Cholera seems usually to have followed the rivers. Bilious fever and fever and ague were for years the almost constant scourge of the people. Even missionary magazines contained articles of instruction to the people as to the care of their lands, so as to avoid these constant sicknesses.[1]

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1 *Home Missionary*, 1833; November, 1841; October, 1849.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EFFECT OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ON THE GROWTH OF CHURCHES.

Perhaps no class of men was more sensitive to the economic changes in Illinois than the home missionary pastors. The growth and prosperity of the churches were favorably affected by emigration, good markets and good prices; on the other hand, they were unfavorably affected, as regards numbers and financial support, by the tide of migration away from Illinois, by general "hard times," by local losses in crops due to floods or inadaptability of crop to soil. We have noticed the active part the earlier missionaries took in inviting settlers into the country just before the Black Hawk War. For a few years thereafter the chief matter for comment in their reports, outside of matters purely religious, was the rapid increase in population. One can fancy the bustle and activity of these years, the optimism induced by the attractiveness of the country and the large returns from the land. If there was anything in all this for the missionary to deplore, it was the spirit of speculation starting in the land and spreading to all industries.[1]

Every village with the smallest prospect of growth, and some uninhabited spots in the wilderness, had a large area staked off into town lots and platted in a highly ornamental style for the information of purchasers.[2] And those lots were actually sold at stiff city prices.

The larger towns were already great cities on paper. Alton, with a population of 4,000 or 5,000, had staked off all the surrounding bluffs. A short time before his death, Mr. Lovejoy had predicted, in the *Alton Observer*, that in ten years the city would contain 50,000 inhabitants. From Peru to Ottawa, about sixteen miles, the whole Illinois bottom, and even the top of Buffalo Rock, were platted for a continuous city. Even in Jacksonville, then containing a population of not more than 1,200, speculation was so active that a man could hardly keep pace with the real estate transfers in the vicinity of his own dwelling. The sale of these western "city lots" was not confined to the western market. Land titles came gradually to form "a part of the circulating medium in New York, Boston and Philadelphia."

1 *Home Missionary* October, 1836.
2 *Julian M. Sturtevant. An Autobiography*, 233

In 1837, came the hard times felt so generally throughout the country. In Illinois, the price of labor, building material and provisions increased 100 per cent. Flour rose to fifteen dollars a barrel, pork to ten dollars a hundred weight, and butter to fifty-six cents a pound.[1] For several years this condition continued in the west. Gifts from the east to the Misssionary Society fell off. As a result of this economic situation, the growth of Illinois received a sudden check. It was only in later years that the pastors could look back and see any good result from that time of trial. "Adversity," they said, "has saved the West. It has repressed inordinate enterprise and sobered the aims of men; it has sifted the people and driven out or kept away many unprincipled adventurers whose influence would have been only to corrupt."[2] They also saw a spiritual gain in the fact that the churches were kept longer in close connection with the eastern churches by continued dependence on them for support. The unity of the churches was thus preserved and the centrifugal tendencies of sectarianism so prevalent in this new country were, for the time at least, checked.

By 1842, the stream of immigration again began to pour into Illinois. The center of the state now showed populous towns. Spacious barns and dwellings appeared where, twelve years before, were only the wolf and badger.[3] The year 1843 seems to have been particularly disastrous for Illinois. In the summer there were floods, in the winter extreme cold so that many of the cattle died of starvation. There was little money in circulation and pastors would have been in want had their only source of supply been the contributions of their little churches. As it was, months went by without the sight of a dollar, and even taxes went unpaid.[4] But, by 1846, settlement was pushing into the open prairie, whereas before, it had kept to the borders of rivers and streams where the woodlands furnished fuel.

About this time Illinois began to feel in her turn the drain upon her population that she had before inflicted on the states east of her. The frontier was now beyond the Mississippi and emigrants from Illinois, previously not numerous enough to excite comment, now attracted public attention. Not only adjoining territories, but distant Oregon attracted them and the missionaries tried to rouse in the emigrants the same religious sentiment that had attended their own coming to Illinois. In 1849, the destination became California. "Hundreds of families in Illinois, Missouri and Iowa are making arrangements to push on" and, equally significant of a change in Illinois, "their places are taken by settlers from the old world."[5]

Here are brief descriptions of the effects on two settlements of the "gold fever:" "From one village twenty-five active men are dropping everything else and rushing off to the gold region, the whole country is run wild here, perfectly wild." In another promising set-

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1 *Home Missionary*, December, 1837.
2 *Ibid*, June, 1842.
3 *Home Missionary*, March, 1842.
4 *Ibid*, April, 1843. The family budget of a missionary in 1838, in one of the most prosperous communities, was as follows: Rent and food, $300; girl at $2 a week, $104; wood, $80; horse and cow, $100; postage and periodicals, $50; clothing, $200. Total, $834.
5 *Home Missionary*, January, 1849.

tlement the "mania for California gold took possession of the hearts of men and women so that it would have required but comparatively a small amount of money to have bought up the whole settlement."[1]

The following description of the setting out of a company makes the scene very vivid:[2] "First came the excitement, every report eagerly sought after—farmers, mechanics, merchants and doctors began to think their several pursuits too dull and prosy. Then came the decision—who will go? First messes, then companies, were formed. Next came the preparation; everybody was busy. Then approached the day of departure—the day was set, but before it came, train after train of California wagons from the other places further east began to roll through our village toward the far distant Pacific. Twenty wagons from our village and the community immediately around it were ready, averaging nearly four men to a wagon. Tuesday was the time appointed to leave, and I gave notice that I would preach a Californian sermon on the afternoon of the Sabbath preceding their departure. The day was stormy, but the congregation was large. It was a solemn meeting. There was a breathless stillness and many a silent tear was seen to fall from the eye of the husband, the wife, the son, or the brother. I had provided myself with a basket of Bibles, testaments and tracts, and gave away the testaments and tracts to those who would carry them to California. The last we heard from this company, they were keeping the Sabbath about 150 miles on their way toward the land of gold."

The depression caused by migration was followed by the depression of "hard times." A period of floods again ruined crops in 1851, and it became apparent as time went on that wheat could not be depended upon as a paying crop. For three years the wheat failed, both in quality and quantity. Nineteen-twentieths of the farmers were said to be in debt. Many loaned at 25 per cent, and in some communities nearly every farm was offered for sale.[3] Better methods of agriculture, the substitution of corn for wheat, and the opening of the Illinois Central railroad with its "market at every man's door," brought better times, though complaints about wheat continued into the '60s. One witness, however, to the steadily increasing prosperity of the state, is found in the fact that communities were erecting church buildings, with some outside help, even during the years of the Civil War.

1 *Home Missionary*, June, 1849.
2 *Ibid*, October, 1849.
3 *Home Missionary*, 1851.

CHAPTER IX.

INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES. SEPARATION OF THE CONGREGATIONAL AND PRESBYTERIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN FRONTIER WORK.

In addition to these economic and social factors which modified the growth of the pioneer churches in Illinois, there were certain internal complications arising from the conditions of church organization, including the connection with the supporting society in the East, which exercised an important influence in the Congregational and Presbyterian churches of the West.

At first, all of the churches founded by the Missionary Society were in the Presbytery of Missouri, which was organized in 1819; not till 1828 was the Illinois Presbytery organized, and, until 1830, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri were included in the same Synod. The churches of Northern Illinois united in the Presbytery of Ottawa in 1834; but in the same year an association of Congregational churches was formed in Western Illinois and another among those of the Fox river region. By 1853 there were eight associations of Congregational churches. These facts of local organization reflect in a measure the difficulties which attended the coöperation of the two denominations in the Home Missionary Society, and which led ultimately to separate denominational societies.

In the beginning Congregationalists and Presbyterians worked together with enthusiasm under the "Plan of Union." There was an honest intention that each local church should adopt for itself its own form of policy; and, apparently without hesitation, such men as Salmon Giddings, Jeremiah Porter and Aratus Kent, though trained to New England Congregationalism, worked most or all of their lives as Presbyterians. Till 1834, the organization of the churches was wholly Presbyterian, and it is claimed that the word "Congregational" was rarely heard before 1841.[2]

The first churches that took to themselves the name and organization of the Congregational church did so on the initiative of the laymen. The ministers were as a rule greatly opposed to this, to the introduction of what seemed a new sect, though some of them were

1 Whittlesey, *The Record of Fifty Years* (*Historical Papers*, Ottawa, 1894).
2 *Home Missionary.*

becoming increasingly attached to the simple and flexible principles of Congregationalism, believing that the multiplied sectarian divisions were largely due to too rigid and complicated systems of church government.[1]

The Home Missionary Society also opposed such innovation. In 1833, when a Congregational church was about to be formed in Jacksonville, the thirty or forty residents of the town who were ready for the movement, sought the coöperation of Mr. Beecher and Mr. Sturtevant of Illinois College.[2] But these able men considered such action undesirable or inexpedient, and the enterprise would have gone through without any countenance from them, except that at the last, the church failing of the expected minister, Mr. Sturtevant was prevailed upon to officiate at the organization. When he was at the office of the Home Missionary Society in New York some time after this, Mr. Sturtevant was sharply rebuked for the countenance he had thus given to Congregationalism. In 1842, it was said that there was no part of the country where greater harmony prevailed between Presbyterians and Congregationalists than in northern Illinois, and a few years later a town in Morgan county was named "Concord," to indicate the state of harmony between Presbyterians and Congregationalists.[3]

In 1835, however, the trial of Rev. Albert Barnes, in the East, led in a few years to the division into "Old School" and "New School," a division in doctrine and sympathy which affected Illinois churches. In some places certain "Old School" churches refused to grant letters of dismission and recommendation to "New School" churches. At this time, also, there arose in the General Assembly of Presbyterian churches, opposition to the financial support of "voluntary societies," such as the Home Missionary Society—called "voluntary," since their organization was outside the control of the assembly. This matter occupied the attention of the General Assembly from 1834 to 1837.[4] The Assembly of 1837 called for the abrogation of the "Plan of Union," the exclusion of four Synods, and withdrawal of support from the Home Missionary and Educational Societies, on the ground of the preservation of peace and purity to the Presbyterian churches. A protest was presented in the interests of the 400 churches then maintained by the Home Missionary Society, and in behalf of the good name and work of these societies. It was signed by Absalom Peters, Ephraim Cutler, David Porter and Horace Bushnell; but the report was carried and lost to the support of the American Home Missionary Society, the contributions of many Presbyterian churches. Some Presbyterian support still continued, however, in spite of this formal action.

There was temporary misgiving and ill-feeling. "Extracts almost innumerable might be taken from our missionary correspondence which illustrate the dreadful evils of division, pastors driven away, churches divided." In a short time, however, the resources and work of the society were larger than ever. It was nine years after this

1 *Julian M. Sturtevant. An Autobiography*, 184.
2 *Ibid*, 195, 207, 210.
3 *Home Missionary* (Annual Report), December, 1848.
4 *Ibid*, 1837.

action of the Presbyterian Assembly that the first formal move was made by the Congregationalists looking toward their abrogation of the "Plan of Union."[1]

In 1846, the Congregationalists held a "Congregational Convention" in Michigan City, their first national meeting. Here the majority of the delegates were from the northwest, and their feeling was shown in the resolution that "in the judgment of this convention the 'Plan of Union' should be dissolved." It was not set aside, however, till 1852, when the whole matter was again discussed at a representative meeting of the whole Congregational denomination in Albany.[2] The eastern delegates, with President Humphrey of Amherst, as leader, were strongly opposed to its abrogation, and only yielded when thoroughly convinced by the delegates from the northwest that in practical experience the "Plan of Union" was not accomplishing the results aimed at. This decision in no way affected the support of dependent churches, Congregational or Presbyterian, by the society which continued to give aid to churches as it had done before. In 1854[3] the General Assembly asked for a ruling of the Home Missionary Society by which it would aid Presbyterian churches in towns where Congregational churches already existed and were still receiving aid. This was refused, and, in 1855, the assembly began its own "church extension" work, sustaining Presbyterian churches where it saw fit. Final action was not taken till 1861, when the General Assembly assumed the responsibility of conducting its own missions, and instituted a committee for that purpose. The income of the American Home Missionary Society fell from $188,000 to $164,000. This was in 1862.[4]

The difficulty which led to a final abrogation of the "Plan of Union," arose out of conditions in Illinois. The Presbytery of Alton was carrying on vigorous missionary work for the southern part of Illinois, a region which had not kept pace with the rest of the state in its economic, intellectual or moral progress. Impelled by interest in their growing and commendable work, they had given as generously themselves as could be expected—from the year 1856 to 1858 some $2,500—and had received $7,500 from the Home Missionary Society, though this Presbytery no longer reported to it or contributed to its treasury and did not wish the society to commission its missionaries. This case, when it came to light, caused much feeling. Religious journals took up the matter, one paper devoting thirty columns to the subject.[5] Statements made on one side led to "corrections" by the other; one article is entitled, "thirty errors corrected." Division was the only sure ground for peace, and it is well that it was accomplished. It is well, however, to emphasize the fact that up to 1860, during the formative years for Illinois, Congregationalists and Presbyterians did work together in Illinois in such a way that it would be impossible now to divide the results of their work and ascribe them to either body as a definite source. Moreover, the results aimed at were the same and sprang largely from the same body of ideas.[6]

1 *Home Missionary*, (November, 1839).
2 *Historical Papers* (Ottawa, 1894).
3 *Home Missionary*, 1854.
4 *Annual Report of Home Missionary Society*, 1862, 49.
5 *Home Missionary*, July, 1859; October, 1859.
6 *Home Missionary*, October, 1859.

CHAPTER X.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF MISSIONARY WORK IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS.

In spite of the internal agitation, there was a commendable degree of heartiness, far-sightedness and generosity in the conduct of the missionary work. Nothing shows this better than the efforts for southern Illinois to which the Alton Presbytery was so thoroughly devoted. The tendency of missionaries to go to the northern, western and eastern parts of the state as each section in turn developed, resulted in an unfortunate situation to which Theron Baldwin, as agent of the society, called attention in 1835: "In the southern and eastern side of the state are seventeen Presbyterian churches, widely separated, many destitute, famishing and some expiring, supplied only by four ministers." In 1840, in thirty-nine counties there were seven ministers, ten churches, and 399 members.[1] It was fitting that the churches opposite St. Louis, where had been the beginning of missionary work in Illinois, should take the initiative in trying to bring about a better condition. Rev. William Chamberlain had gone to Alton in 1842. He had for many years been a missionary to the Cherokee Indians under the Foreign Missionary Society and he brought new life to the work. The Alton Presbytery established a "committee of missions," and, with the help of the national society, set to work.

In 1845, two missionaries made a tour of investigation and made a report for the thirteen counties forming the extreme southern part of the state. In this area they found five ministers who might claim to be educated. Most of the people were Baptists. Schools were rare. County seats usually kept a feeble school open for part of the year. Many parents opposed having their children taught lest they should learn to be bad. Sunday schools and temperance societies were not popular. The missionaries who went afterward to these places found a "general coldness" around them. Through the years that followed they sent to the society exceedingly doleful accounts of the state of society in southern Illinois. If there was a part of Illinois where the work of the eastern missionary accomplished little, it was here. The country was thoroughly exploited, its natural advantages set forth, and New Englanders, both lay and cleric, urged them to come. The

1 *Home Missionary*, 1840.

society commissioned men freely, and, by 1852, the churches had increased from ten to thirty-two. The enterprise and industry brought in by the Illinois Central railroad, helped matters; but it was hard to keep men at posts where they felt they were accomplishing so little, where the manners and customs of the community were so foreign to what they most highly esteemed. Just before the Civil War, the influence of the missionaries was greater there than it had ever been before, but it was at the expense of great labor and in the face of great obstacles.[1]

The missionary's program was rather a definite one. There were certain interests which he was expected to promote in a community and forms of religious activity which he was expected to establish. His commission was explicit. In 1830, its terms were as follows: The limits of his field were defined. He must keep his personal life beyond reproach. He was charged to give especial care to the sick and perform all pastoral offices. He was instructed, in addition to regular Sunday services, to hold weekly prayer meetings and a monthly "Concert of Prayer" for the conversion of the world. He was expected to promote an interest in benevolent societies, to give instruction in temperance and to promote Sunday schools, Bible classes, and day schools.[2] To this might be added the general expectation in the mind of the community that the missionary be "foremost in all the moral movements of the day. He must have well digested views of political economy, must be able to lecture on the history and progress of any science, must have an opinion on all points of theology, civil affairs or art."[3]

The earlier missionaries organized tract and Bible societies and a few colonization societies, the then accepted form of philanthropic effort for the negro. The effort to distribute Bibles and tracts, including treatises on moral questions of the day or reprints of successful sermons and lectures, brought out the fact that a large part of the population could not read.[4] So, from 1830, the establishing of Sabbath schools was an important and popular measure whose main purpose was to teach the attendants, old and young, to read the Bible. There was much enthusiasm in this work throughout the northwest and a large part of the population joined the schools, either as teachers or learners. Sabbath schools were important forerunners of day schools. At Vandalia, members of the legislature visited the Sabbath school, and an "individual of distinction" from the South was delighted with it, declaring that he should, on his return home, found such schools. The prominent topic in reports for 1830 and 1831, is the Sabbath schools. Supplementary Bible classes were also established, often running through the week.

A distinct sentiment arose as to the advantage of living in towns that one might avail himself of such means of self-improvement, and immigrants were advised against settling on farms remote from each other. They were urged to follow the early New England method of settling in towns that they might have schools, churches, and social intercourse, and thus save the first generation from growing up in

1 *Home Missionary*, December, 1845; August, 1851; November, 1852; 1853 (*Annual Report*).
2 *Home Missionary*, May, 1830. 3 *Ibid*, 1852. 4 *Ibid*, August, 1830.

ignorance.[1] One is not surprised to find the "Lyceum." "We select some of the branches of knowledge and by an exhibition of facts, endeavor to awaken and instruct the public mind. One man talks over the subject of geography; another takes up the subject of common school education; another, agriculture; and another, the history of the United States. We open and close our meetings with prayer and endeavor to give every subject a religious bearing."[2]

The missionaries felt the need of temperance reform. People on the frontier were much given to excessive drinking of very strong liquors. A changed sentiment in regard to the moral aspect of this question came to religious minds in the '20s and '30s. The Collins family of Collinsville were so moved by a sermon of Lyman Beecher's on the subject that they gave up their lucrative business of distilling whiskey and destroyed their still, cutting it into bits that it might never be used again.[3] Till 1842, temperance reform and instruction was a part of the church's work. Temperance societies were common, often with total abstinence pledges. Later, these societies became popular social organizations and were no longer directed by the churches. A proof of the sensitiveness of the church on the whole matter is shown by the standing rule of the Congregational church of Champaign, founded in 1854: "This church, for reasons too apparent to require mentioning, cannot receive into its communion anyone who manufactures, buys, sells or uses as a beverage, intoxicating drinks, whether they be distilled or fermented liquors, nor can this church fellowship anyone who owns tenements and rents them for the purpose of the sale or manufacture of liquors, nor can we receive into or retain within our communion any person who sells corn or other grain to the distiller, or his known agent—and brethren are expected to make suitable inquiries respecting that matter—or in any other way directly aids or coöperates with dealers in, or manufacturers of, ardent spirits in this unrighteous traffic."

1 *Home Missionary*, 1836. 2 *Ibid*, April, 1833.
3 W. H. Collins, *Congregationalists in Eastern Illinois*. (*Historical Papers*, Ottawa, 1894).

CHAPTER XI.

ADVERSE SENTIMENT.

Naturally enough, this programme of instruction and organization did not meet with entire approval from the heterogeneous population of Illinois. The eastern missionary and the settlers who followed him, the forms and customs in which they were bred, and the ideas and institutions they tried to establish, were thoroughly repugnant to many of the settlers from the states other than New England. We have a clash of sentiment and opinion over almost every public enterprise. It took fifty years of living together and a great subject of common sympathy, like the devotion to national unity brought out by the Civil War, to make the State of Illinois as united in sentiment as it is today. These older differences were very exasperating to both parties.

It is, perhaps, impossible to give a fair view of the way in which the easterner appeared to the earlier settlers of Illinois who had long preceded him from the South. He was very ready to express his criticisms in rude and forcible speech, but he was not given to leaving a written record of his feelings. On the other hand, the Easterner could express himself with clearness and force on the deficiencies of his neighbor and could, moreover, get his opinion published and preserved. We can, however, make out some of the traits with which the word "Yankee" was associated and which served to make it a term of opprobrium. The Yankee was shrewd and his main purpose was, by hook or crook, to make money; while the Illinoisan was an "independent, self-made, generous son of the West." The Yankee peddler, desirable as his goods were, afforded evidence of this petty money-making spirit. As a neighbor, the Yankee was considered inhospitable and penurious. Often he did not so much as offer refreshment to the passing stranger or urge a neighbor to a meal, even if the meal hour was at hand. Worse than all this was his intolerable self-conceit, which made it possible for the wife of a missionary to ask a full grown woman if she knew who made her. The Illinoisan was sensitive to the constantly implied disapproval of himself and his manners and customs.[1]

The Easterner who displayed Unitarian tendencies or a smattering of scientific knowledge, shocked the Illinoisan's religious sentiments, which were profound. Occasionally, a missionary realized how deep

1 *Home Missionary*, April, 1841.

was their religious feeling. "I judge," says one,[1] "that the people of Egypt have sometimes been underrated because they have been dressed in homespun. It is true we have vice here and rustic vice, and yet we have not so much upstart infidelity as in some other apparently moral and religious communities. Many a person will shoot a deer or a turkey on a Sabbath and swear like a sailor when angry, drink a glass of grog with their neighbors, and run their horses a quarter for a wager, who would feel shocked at the thought of treating religion with disrespect or denying its divine origin."

It needed a tact and adaptability that was not always present to win one's way with this people. That veteran worker, William Chamberlain, once uttered his complaint: "There is, in my opinion, a great deficiency in educating ministers for this western country, and how that deficiency is to be remedied I know not. Ministers for the West should be well educated in what we call common sense. They should understand human nature as exhibited in daily life. For the want of this, many otherwise well educated and good men fail. The most illiterate preachers draw from them their congregations and deprive them of their means of usefulness. The people of the West are generally shrewd and well versed in common sense, and their ministers have a good stock of scientific knowledge; but the space between them and the people is too wide for the power of attraction and they never come together. The result is, the minister's reports will be filled with dark accounts of the deep ignorance and degradation of the people; and the people will be laughing among themselves about the minister for his want of common sense. I think it would be better for us to say less about the ignorance of the people and do more toward instructing them."

On the missionary's part, nevertheless, there could be at the best but profound pity for the ignorance of these earlier settlers. He found their religious life ministered to by illiterate ministers, sometimes representatives of cults of which he had never heard. From the beginning he distrusted the tempests of religious emotion which swept over the people because they had so little permanent effect. As early as 1812, J. F. Schermerhorn, after his trip to the West with Samuel Mills, wrote thus of a revival in Ohio: "The Methodists say there has been a very great revival of religion among them, as also do the Baptists. From the best information that we could obtain from eye witnesses of this work, there is great reason to believe that it was principally terror and fear which induced numbers to join those societies; for this work began and ended with the earthquakes in those countries and the whole strain of preaching by the Baptists and Methodists was, that the end of all things was at hand and if the people were not baptized, or did not join a society, there was no hope for them. This may be deemed uncharitable by some, but not when it is considered that the Methodists in that region require no evidence of holiness of heart to become members of their society, and that the religious experiences of many consist only in dreams and visions or the remarkable suggestion of some alarming texts of scripture, and after that some which afford great comfort." Forty years[2] later there

1 *Home Missionary*, January, 1848. 2 *Ibid*, April 1850.

was the same difficulty. "The effect of the senseless harangues and consequent spurious revivals with which we are cursed and of which the people are very fond, is similar to the raging fire that sweeps through the forest, deadening and blackening everything which it leaves unconsumed." In 1857,[1] a missionary in southern Illinois describes a complete "indifferentism" a stupidity and brutality even in their lack of feeling over the death of friends which he thinks due to the fact that in their religion a "wild excitement is the all in all."

In this connection Mr. Schermerhorn's characterization of the inhabitants in 1812 is interesting. He says, "Those from New Jersey and Pennsylvania, particularly of the Scotch and Irish descent, are very ready to unite in promoting the establishment of schools and in supporting the gospel, whilst those of German extraction, together with emigrants from Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky, are too frequently regardless of both, and too often cherish that high-toned and licentious spirit which will suffer neither contradiction nor opposition and which is equally inconsistent with civil and religious order." He went on to describe the three leading denominations. "The Baptists," he wrote, "were generally illiterate. Learning is rather ridiculed than desired. Against the salaries of ministers they are clamorous, and they denominate Presbyterian ministers as 'fleecers of the flock.' As a body they deny the morality of the Sabbath or Lord's day. * * * * The manner of the Methodist preaching very much resembles that of the Baptists; is very controversial and most bitter against Calvinists. They rail very much against the practice of the Presbyterians receiving pay for preaching, calling them hirelings, but most unreasonably, for their salaries are more certain and, in general, greater than those against whom they speak. The Presbyterians are noted for their strict observance of the Sabbath. They are the most intelligent part of the community, lovers of order and promoters of knowledge; the most ready to support schools, the Gospel and missionary and Bible societies."

The New Englander brought with him the Puritan views of observance of the Sabbath and was shocked at the disregard of that day by the older settlers of Illinois. "The native preachers were largely itinerants and communities did not expect a religious service every Sunday, so often the day was given over to rough sports, and religion left to the enthusiasm of the 'big meeting;' so also, the woman who washed out a garment, or did a bit of ironing on Sunday, offended the religious sentiment of the missionary."

The native preacher, often a man of sense and integrity, even if very illiterate, sometimes used his strong influence over the people to the disadvantage of the eastern missionary. In his view, the man filled with learning was so much the less filled with spiritual power. He was "machine-made." The schools turned them out all alike. A common proverb was: "He has learning enough for two ministers." The missionary was constantly held up to scorn because he received

1 *Home Missionary*, September, 1857.

a salary. It seemed to them that a man could not be truly filled with the spirit of God and accept pay for doing the work inspired by Him. "Judas," they said, "was the first to take pay."

Rev. J. M. Sturtevant tells of a sermon which he heard on the third Sabbath after his arrival in Jacksonville. Through a mistake, for which no one was to blame, the Presbyterians and Methodists found themselves together in the court house. Each expected to hold services, but as the Methodists had already begun Mr. Sturtevant and his people joined the congregation. The minister was the famous Rev. Peter Cartwright, whose life work was certainly commendable; but such was the bitterness of the sectarian and sectional spirit of the time that he took occasion to make a bitter attack on Calvinism, caricaturing it and holding it up to ridicule; and, in the face of the young enterprise for a college in Jacksonville, he took particular pains to ridicule a college education, repeating the old saying: "I have never spent four years of my life in rubbing my back against the walls of a college."[1]

The native was much opposed to agitation in behalf of temperance societies. Strong liquors were used freely and there was much drunkenness. A definite crusade against intemperance seemed an infringement of personal rights, and the warmest opposers of temperance were said to be ministers and church members. The following notes taken from the anti-temperance lecture of a native preacher are typical of the times:[2] "The temperance society is productive of more harm than good. It slanders those who do not fall in with it. Its documents were charged with falsehoods. The state legislatures are taking up the subject and it is high time to give the alarm. The heroes of the revolution were not temperance men. The subject of temperance is not in the Constitution of the United States, though the framers were wise men. It has religious and political designs. Massachusetts is in danger; its legislators are almost all temperance men. This society gives all the liquor to the clergymen and physicians, and that is popery. The Law of Moses was not against drinking. The more institutions there are, the more money will be wanted. The temperance society sows the seeds of discord in the church and community. The curse of God is now resting on Ireland in the shape of a famine, because so many Irish signed the pledge." To the Easterner, on the other hand, the man who pretending to be a spiritual leader could yet hobnob with his people at the grocery and tavern and join with them in drinking, seemed utterly disgusting.

Sunday schools, missionary societies, and even day-schools, met with the same opposition. Even when education came in some degree to be desired, the people had not been trained to that united public action which would have secured it quickly. Often a community was in existence twenty or thirty years before there was any school house. Many of the people could not read and their preachers did not teach and insist that they have schools and instructors. This suggestive report was made in 1848 to the Missionary Society:

1 *Julian M. Sturtevant. An Autobiography*, 161.
2 *Home Missionary*, July, 1847.

"I know no other community in the state where a missionary of your society has labored one year that is not supplied with a good week-day school and a Sunday school, and I know of but few which have not been thus supplied that have such schools." In 1852 there was not a school in Pulaski or Alexander counties. In 1856 southern counties could not produce teachers who could pass the examinations required by law.[1] On one occasion a school house was donated to a community by a man of some means, but with the distinct provision that no eastern teacher should be employed to teach in it.[2]

This spirit of prejudice and lack of public enterprise marked many of the undertakings of the earlier days. Illinois College first applied to the legislature for a charter in 1830. Prejudice against the "Yankees" and fear of ecclesiastical corporations defeated the charter.[3] Said one member: "If they granted a charter at all, he was in favor of restricting the corporation to one quarter section of land; for otherwise, those college men, with their immense funds, would buy up new land in the northern part of the state and then put on tenants at will and finally sway the political destiny of Illinois. So, also, they opposed taxation for common schools on the ground that it worked injustice to those without children or those patronizing private schools. The bill for the Illinois and Michigan canal was opposed, because it would open an easy entrance to "Yankees" and the state would be flooded with them.[4]

Two citations in regard to the Mexican War will show the conflicting sentiments of eastern and native preachers on that subject. The native preacher said it would do the Mexicans good to give them a sound drubbing, and concluded with terrible denunciations upon those who spoke against the war; while the missionary lamented: "Shame, indeed, that there should be a Massachusetts and a New England [How art thou fallen from heaven, O, Lucifer, son of the morning] regiment in this war. But when we look at the hordes which Illinois and Missouri have poured forth, we see where Satan's seat is."[5]

Of course, this division came out clearly in the agitation over slavery. In 1850, a spiritual appeal came from a Presbytery in Missouri; they wanted men of the right stamp, "rough and ready," who could preach at all times, let slavery alone, leave their eastern prejudices at home. Western people are born and grow up in excitement and their religion must have more or less of that ingredient." To this appeal there was the equally spirited reply: "Our Western friends may as well understand first as last, that the Eastern churches have a pretty well defined idea of what sort of religion they wish to propagate."

1 *Home Missionary*, May, 1848; July, 1852; May, 1856. 2 *Ibid*, August, 1847.
3 *Historic Morgan and Classic Jacksonville.*
4 Patterson, *Early History in Southern Illinois* (*Fergus' Historical Series*).
5 *Home Missionary*, May and December, 1847.

CHAPTER XII.

PURITANISM AND THE SLAVERY ISSUE.

The moral agitation that filled the country in regard to slavery, was manifest in these years in Illinois. There was never any uncertainty as to the attitude of the eastern missionary or his denomination upon this subject; but at first the missionary was not so outspoken as he became later. At times even there was a deprecating tone toward the hot-headed opponent of slavery and a tenderness and sympathy for the slave owner. These words from a missionary in Missouri, written in 1829, exhibit this feeling: "Let me mention what I fear will be a permanent obstacle to a regular and competent support of the ministry in this state. This obstacle is found in the existence of slavery. Slaveholders purchase extensive plantations, and in this way the inhabitants are kept in a scattered state. This evil, it is true, will not exist in towns, and many find a partial remedy in a minister's dividing his time between two or three settlements; but such a state of things will always diminish the effect attending the dispensation of God's word. I am aware that I have now touched a subject of very delicate nature. Slavery, perhaps, exists in its mildest form in this state, but it is still a great evil and one that is most sensibly felt by slaveholders themselves. How is this evil to be removed? Not by denouncing the slaveholder as an unprincipled and unfeeling man. This only tends to aggravate the difficulty. It must be removed by action, and not by declamation. The people at the east must feel that there is a duty devolving on them in relation to this subject. The evil is attached to us as a nation, and if it is ever removed we must, as individuals of this nation, contribute our proportion. When an owner of slaves tells me that he knows and feels that slavery is a crying sin and that he will freely relinquish his slaves, or even that he will relinquish one-half their value on condition that he be compensated for the other half and provisions be made for their transportation, I feel that he has made a generous proposal, and I cannot charge him with all the guilt of slavery, though he may continue to be a slaveholder. Some remarks have lately appeared in the eastern papers which will be hailed by many at the West and South as indications of the increasing prevalence of just views on this subject and as harbingers of good to the degraded blacks. Let it be acknowledged by the inhabitants of the free states that slavery is a national evil and that they are bound in duty to contribute to its removal, and there are thousands at the South and West who will join them heart and hand in the great work of emancipation."[1]

1 *Home Missionary*, February, 1829.

For many years few among the missionaries cared to own the name of "abolitionist." Yet in spite of this moderate position on the subject of slavery the missionary found his principles so at variance with those of the people about him in southern communities that his work languished. In Missouri, and the southern states generally, where much money had been spent and long continued effort had been made by the Home Missionary Society, it generally became evident that the struggle was a losing one. So much opposition was encountered that for years the work declined, and it was practically cut off when, in 1856, the society decided to grant no appropriations to the churches containing slaveholding members.[1] At this time the situation was reviewed and it was shown that auxiliary societies and ecclesiastical bodies in the South and Southwest had withdrawn their support from the main society, less than $2,000 having been received from these states in the preceding year. In southern churches more slaveholders were being received into the membership than in former years, and ministers who owned slaves were advanced. Liberty of speech was no longer allowed and the ministry must even be champions of the "institution." The missionaries in slaveholding states were decreasing in spite of all efforts to increase their numbers. In Illinois there were many to sympathize with the southern cause, and, in some localities, a majority took the part of the South. This was especially true in the southern part of the state and in the river towns. Yet there was generally a chance for the growth and victory of contrary opinion.

Not all of the anti-slavery sentiment came from the East. In the early years the northwest was the only region into which the southerner could migrate when he became discontented with the conditions of society which he found becoming fixed about him. While many of the settlers were merely poor, and so without slaves and therefore content to settle in a region where slavery was forbidden, others came from principle. Many a Scotch Presbyterian came to Illinois from the Carolinas for conscience sake. These are facts, of which there are necessarily few records, but they are none the less true and interesting. It is, however, a matter of record that "the first settlement formed within its bounds, of emigrants from the United States, was made in Morgan county in 1781 by James Moore, who was a native of Maryland, but came to Illinois from Western Virginia. In 1785-6 this settlement was strengthened by a number of families from the same region. They were opposed to slavery and took up their long line of march for these wild regions that, themselves and their posterity, might enjoy the advantages of a country unembarassed by slavery. * * * The first Protestant church was a Baptist church at New Design, formed in 1796. This church was originally formed with rules opposed to slavery, and, in 1803, adopted a rule that no person guilty of slavery could be admitted to membership. It was constituted by Rev. Josiah Dodge, originally from Connecticut, who was one of the first two ministers who, with their congregations, separated from the Baptists in Kentucky on account of

1 *Home Missionary*, December, 1856.

slavery."[1] The Union church of Edwards county was opposed to slavery and moved, as a church, from the South, though its leader, Rev. Stephen Bliss, was from New England.[2]

In the contest of 1823 over a new constitution which should permit slavery, the few New England missionaries made themselves felt by joining with laymen in the work to preserve a free state. Only two of the five newspapers stood for freedom, and one of these was edited by Hiram Eddy of New England. Rev Thomas Lippincott, an early missionary from New England, wrote fiery handbills, and contributed to one of these papers on the subject of slavery, while Rev. Stephen Bliss, just referred to, was elected to the Senate on the anti-slavery issue. Another powerful anti-slavery worker of those days was Rev. J. M. Peck, missionary of the Massachusetts Baptist Society, and later an agent of the American Bible Society. His constant travelling gave him opportunity to spread anti-slavery ideas. "His plan of organizing the counties by a central committee, with branches in every neighborhood, was carried out by his own exertions and personal supervision, and was greatly instrumental in saving the state."[3] Another writer probably refers to the same plan when he says that J. M. Peck organized an anti-slavery society in St. Clair county, with which fourteen societies of other counties became affiliated.[4]

When this crisis was past, there was for many years a hopeful attitude on the part of the missionaries on the subject of the overthrow of slavery. It was felt that the spread of education, the growth of missions, the efforts of colonization societies would do away with the evil. Since Illinois herself was not facing the question, and since she had put an end to efforts to introduce slavery within her borders, the subject, for some ten or fifteen years, did not occupy the public mind so much as might now be supposed. Missionaries made their frequent reports to the home office, dwelling fully on all their difficulties and discouragements and extremely sensitive to the moral atmosphere about them; but little, in Illinois, was said about slavery. Then in the '30s, 1836–7 especially, came the attempt of the South to prevent free speech, a time noted for mobs and riots. Illinois, as a border state, was doomed to feel the evil of the troubled times and to contribute her victim.

Elijah P. Lovejoy was born at Albion, Maine, in 1802, the son of Rev. Daniel Lovejoy, a Congregational minister. He graduated at Waterville College, Maine, and went to St. Louis as school teacher and editor. Here he had a religious experience which led him to return East for theological training at Princeton, and, on his return to St. Louis in 1833, he was commissioned as missionary to that city by the Home Missionary Society. In addition to preaching, he edited and published the *St. Louis Observer* as an organ of the Presbyterians of Illinois and Missouri. His character was earnest and transparent,

1 *Home Missionary*, March, 1835. (Statement by Rev. Theron Baldwin, indebted to Rev. J. M. Peck.)

2 *History of the Congregational Association of Southern Illinois* (1892).

3 W. H. Brown, *Early History of Illinois* (Fergus' Historical Series).

4 Patterson, *Early Society in Southern Illinois*.

but not by nature combative or pugnacious. Bold and fearless he was, nevertheless amiable, affectionate, and lovable.[1] In his writings he was mild, temperate and gentlemanly. In his reports to the society he had more to say of the dangers from Catholicism than of those from slavery.[2] In his paper he declared himself in favor of gradual emancipation, and disclaimed the name abolitionist. After 1835 he was not in the employ of the missionary society. Probably his duties as editor absorbed all his time. During his service as missionary he had been moderator of the Presbytery of Illinois. It was in 1836 that he published an account of the burning of a negro at St. Louis. Moved by the horror and inhumanity of the scene, he sharply criticised the community which allowed such a deed. Upon this, a mob destroyed his press and he moved to Alton, across the river, in Illinois.

In the contest that followed, Lovejoy acted on the advice of his ministerial friends. After his second press was destroyed, he proposed to his friends that he withdraw; but at the meeting of the synod in November, 1837, at Springfield, where one evening the situation was thoroughly discussed, with but one dissenting voice, his friends persuaded him to remain, feeling that the great principle of the freedom of the press was at stake. The third press was given by sympathizing friends in Ohio, in this contest for freedom of speech.

Meanwhile, in accordance with plans, a meeting was called to convene in Alton, November, 1837, to form a state anti-slavery society. This call was signed by fifty-six of the residents of Quincy, forty-two from Galesburg, thirty-two from Jacksonville, twenty-three from Alton, twenty from Springfield and seventy-two from other places. It was held the week after the meeting of Synod and Mr. Lovejoy's friends were urged to be present.[3] Among those who gathered at Alton were Edward Beecher from Illinois College and Asa Turner from Quincy. The meeting was captured by the friends of slavery and the audience heard a tirade against "Yankees," home missionaries, Sunday schools, abolitionists, and temperance societies. After the adjournment of the convention, it became known that the new press was expected, and President Beecher remained to see what would happen. The press came at night and Mr. Lovejoy and Mr. Beecher went to the landing, superintended its storing in the warehouse, and guarded it till morning. In the morning Mr. Beecher left for Jacksonville. On the following night, the warehouse was attacked by the mob and Mr. Lovejoy killed.[4]

This was an event to stir the country. It won to the cause of the abolitionists the fiery eloquence of the brother, Owen Lovejoy in the pulpit and as member of Congress, while the town of Alton went through a season of deep moral agitation and became a center of anti-slavery effort.[5] But a group of residents of this city, led by Dr. Haskell of Massachusetts, a graduate of Dartmouth, removed to Rockford, in the northern part of the state, in order to be in a region

1 *Julian M. Sturtevant. An Autobiography*, 222.
2 *Home Missionary*, December. 1835.
3 *Julian M. Sturtevant. An Autobiography*, 223. 4 *Ibid*, 224.
5 J. E. Roy, *Fifty Years of Home Missions*; H. Tanner, *Martyrdom of Lovejoy*.

where pro-slavery sentiment was not predominant. Unfortunately, these events in Alton had unhappy results for Illinois College. The excitement aroused, the hatred generated, were directed toward Mr. Beecher and the college. These feelings were entertained not alone by the mob, but by people of wealth, social standing, and even of religious reputation. The newspapers of St. Louis which had wide circulation in southern Illinois, were intensely hostile in their opposition to Illinois College. For a time there was fear of attack on the college buildings and of personal violence to Mr. Beecher. In time these prejudices were lived down, but for years there were constant annoyances in the vicinity of the college.[1]

Quincy, another river town, went through a similar experience as regards the principle at issue. This city had had, to its great advantage, a strong spiritual leader in Asa Turner, of the "Yale Band," who had located there in 1830. In four years his church had become self-supporting and the town experienced "a most clear and decided moral improvement."[2] Many Easterners flocked to Quincy and there was a strong sentiment of sympathy with the other centers of eastern thought like Jacksonville and Springfield. Asa Turner organized tract, Bible and temperance societies, and developed out-stations which soon became independent churches, His aim was, "a missionary and half a dozen Christian families for every county."

The first church building in Quincy gained the name of the "Lord's Barn" from its general appearance. In 1836, some people in Quincy wished to hold an anti-slavery meeting in this church; but the mere design caused a great ferment in the town and country round about and threats were made that no such meeting should be held. As the day approached many men rallied to the defence, not so much from their love of anti-slavery sentiments as because they believed in freedom of speech. Under the raised platform they stored guns, clubs, poles, etc. The speakers were the pastors of the Methodist and Baptist churches. As soon as the speaking began the mob began to throw brick and stone through windows. Joseph T. Holmes, who was both deacon and magistrate, and later a Congregational minister, led the counter charge, and a very successful charge it was, dispersing the mob altogether. After this, the better elements of society ruled in Quincy.[3]

The carrying out of the fugitive slave law gave deep offence to the opponents of slavery. Interesting testimony to the intense feeling of the Puritan New Englanders in Illinois on this subject is found in "The Underground Railroad," by Professor Wilbur H. Siebert.

Mr. Siebert says: "In general, it is safe to say that the majority of helpers in the north were of Anglo-American stock, descendants of the Puritan and Quaker settlers of the eastern states or of southerners that had moved to the northern states to be rid of slavery." The

1 *Julian M. Sturtevant. An Autobiography*, 225.

2 *Home Missionary*, February, 1838.

3 Manuscript History of Quincy church by Thomas Pope, in library of Chicago Theological Seminary.

Scotch communities were also centers of Underground Railroad operations as, for example, those of Randolph and Washington counties in Illinois.[1]

In Illinois, the southerners who gave such assistance, are traced for the most part to members of a Presbyterian church, which, under the leadership of Rev. J. Rankin, had first settled in Brown county, Ohio, because of their views of slavery. Some of these families came to Bond county, Illinois, about 1820, and later, about 1830, moved into Putnam and Bureau counties, forming the little church at Union Grove, which Aratus Kent discovered in 1829, and to which he called the attention of the Home Missionary Society, which thenceforth took it under its protection. Those who went to Bureau county united with the Princeton colony. These people were extremely active in their assistance. No complete figures exist as to the number of fugitives assisted; but one member of this band of southerners testified to the assisting of thirty-one men and women in six weeks time as the highest record reached.[2]

Few of those at the north who assisted runaway slaves, imbued as they were with respect for law, cared to entice slaves from their masters, or to serve as guides in the first steps of their escape. On the ground of humanity and the pity for the needy, enjoined by the Bible, northerners would give aid at their door and even speed them on their way. The few who incited slaves to leave their masters were conspicuous, and there was usually some ground for unusual bitterness of feeling on the subject of slavery in their cases.

Illinois had one conspicuous example of a man who was willing to aid in abducting slaves. This was David Nelson, who, himself a southerner, an avowed atheist and a slaveholder, had, on conversion, become a Christian minister and located in Missouri. Here he encountered so much opposition that he had to take hasty flight. Finding refuge in Quincy he allied himself with the New Englanders and their church there. In the spring of 1840 he instigated two of the pupils in his mission institute to cross the river into Missouri and aid some slaves in escaping. The students were captured and taken to the jail at Palmyra and tried. There was no legal evidence, as slave testimony was not admissible, but they were condemned to twelve years imprisonment. By their conduct they shortened their term more than one-half, and there was a remarkable revival of religion while they were there among the prisoners. One of these young men afterward went as missionary to Africa. Later, the main building of the Mission Institute was burned by a mob who came from the Missouri side of the river for the purpose.[3]

Everywhere in northern Illinois the fugitive slave found friends and helpers. The motives for this help to the slave are to be found in the teachings of the New England churches. Indeed, the men most prominent in these efforts were vigorous adherents of those churches. Owen Lovejoy, the Congregational minister, proclaimed in Congress, on being taunted as a "nigger stealer": "Owen Lovejoy

1 W. H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, 90, 92. 2 *Ibid;* 41.

3 Thomas Pope, *Manuscript History of Quincy Church;* Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, 155, 156.

lives at Princeton, Illinois, three-quarters of a mile east of the village, and he aids every fugitive that comes to his door and asks it." Philo Carpenter, the real founder of the First Congregational church in Chicago, guided not less than 200 fugitives to Canada, finding vessels to carry them to its shore. Dr. Richard Eells, whose case for secreting a slave was in litigation for ten years and who was finally fined and paid the costs of the trial, was a prominent member of the Quincy church.[1]

Professor J. B. Turner, while at Illinois College, assisted in at least one such rescue. James Collins, the lawyer who defended those charged with breaking the Fugitive Slave Law, was of the Collins family of Collinsville, famous for their uncompromising stand on all moral questions.[2]

Scrutiny of the map given by Mr. Siebert, showing the lines of the Underground Railroad, reveals the suggestive fact that most of the towns given on those lines were early occupied by New Englanders and their churches. Often the name of a station given on this map is simply that of the man giving aid, but where a place is named it is apt to be a New England church center. Thus Springfield, with its church founded in 1830, was the converging point for three lines: (1) through Alton (1831) (the dates are those of the founding of churches by the missionary society) and Reno; (2), White Plains, Jerseyville (1835), Waverly (1843); (3), Quincy (1831), Adams, Jacksonville (1829). From Springfield a line extended north to Galesburg (1853) through Farmington (1841); but the usual route seems to have been by stage to Ottawa (1834), thence through Northville (1835) to Chicago. Lines also passed from Jacksonville and Springfield through Delavan, Tremont (1841), Dillon, Washington (1835), Metamora (1840), Magnolia (1851), Granville (1831), and Peru (1843), to Ottawa.

Galesburg (1853) was an especially active station on the Underground Railroad for fugitives from Missouri through Quincy (1831), Mendon (1845), Carthage (1835), Augusta (1837), Plymouth (1840), La Harpe (1848), and then by the old state road to Chicago with stations at Knoxville (1835), Osceola, Pawpaw (1844), Sugar Grove (1843) and Aurora (1840). In the northwestern part of the state there was a line conducting fugitives to points on the lake farther north than Chicago. The fugitives taking this route passed around Missouri, crossing Iowa and then through New Windsor, Andover (1850), Genesee (1839), Erie, Prophetstown, Lyndon (1840), Sterling (1842), Lee Center (1852), and Dixon (1856). Another line entering the state at Port Byron (1851), after passing Hillsdale, joined this northern route.[3]

From the history of Putnam county, located in the north-central part of the state, something of the origin and method of conducting such work appears. Also, earnest orators like Owen Lovejoy, Ichabod Codding and others, encouraged the people in the different towns to organize routes. Such was the sense of the need of secrecy

1 Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, 107, 147, 278.
2 Eames, *Historic Morgan and Classic Jacksonville*.
3 Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*.

and caution that few, even of those actively engaged in the work, knew anything of agents along the entire line, being definitely posted only as to those stations immediately next to them on either side. The chief thought each agent had was to hurry the fugitives along beyond all possibility of capture. The fugitives who were helped along by means of this regular though secret line did not begin to appear till about 1840. They came mostly from Missouri and Kentucky, and they averaged on this one line thirty or more per year.[1]

By the early '40s, the deep feeling on the subject of slavery is apparent in missionary reports, though there is still a certain hesitancy to call the evil by name. This was left to the more outspoken abolitionists. In 1841 we have these testimonies to the feeling of the missionaries: "It is evidently a general feeling among the missionaries in the West that our country is rapidly advancing to a critical point in her history. Letters from all parts of the great field, written without any concert of the authors, either expressly assert or imply that a struggle is now going on which must ere long terminate for weal or woe to our beloved America. The missionaries seem to agree in their belief that the eastern churches do not appreciate the critical nature of the present opportunity to save the land."[2]

The following citation came from an Illinois missionary: "The crisis we are approaching as a nation, it is feared, is not begun to be understood by the mass of people of God. Not the moral purity of the West alone, but the preservation of the whole community is at stake. Our country is in danger while Christians all over the land are suffering everything but Christianity to take root in the West." Another writes: "We have reached an appalling crisis. Our ablest patriots are looking out on the deep, vexed with storms, with great foreboding and failing of heart for fear of the things that are coming upon us."[3]

It is not claiming too much to say that the New England element led, and, guided by the leaders in the New England churches, originated and fostered the expression of anti-slavery feeling in anti-slavery societies and political parties. The motives were supplied in the religious teachings of the Puritan churches. The leaders in the anti-slavery societies, and later in the anti-slavery political parties, were men who were members and leaders in those churches, though they were not politicians. These years of political and moral agitation afforded the best educational training, even in times of temporary, failure for the time, when success finally did come.

The first anti-slavery society was formed in a New England settlement in Putnam county in 1835, and by 1838 there were thirteen societies in northern Illinois.[4] We have already seen that Elijah P. Lovejoy, Edward Beecher and Asa Turner were leaders in organizing the state anti-slavery society.

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1 Spencer Ellsworth, *Record of the Olden Time; or, Fifty Years on the Prairie* (Lacon, Illinois, 1880).

2 *Home Missionary*, November, 1841; December, 1841.

3 *Home Missionary*, November and December, 1841.

4 T. C. Smith, *The Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest*. (*Harvard Historical Studies*), 14.

Before 1839, these societies confined their efforts mainly to a moral and religious agitation, and it was such agitation that led to the formation of the succeeding anti-slavery political parties, and that prompted the old parties as well to anti-slavery action. Besides the propagation of principles, this anti-slavery society of Illinois sent petitions to Congress to abolish slavery and the slave trade wherever its constitutional jurisdiction permitted. Feeling the impulse toward political interference appearing elsewhere in the country in 1839, the society voted "that every abolitionist who has a right to vote be earnestly entreated to lose no opportunity to carry his abolition principles to the polls."

In 1840, the Liberty party was in the field with a ticket headed by Birney and Earle. The State Anti-slavery Society of Illinois, in convention at Princeton, decided on a course of neutrality; but the men in favor of a third party held a separate meeting, under the leadership of David Nelson, and agreed to support the Liberty candidates. The result was the tiny vote of 157. The center of agitation was Adams county, which gave forty-two votes. This was double the vote of the northeast counties which later became comparable in anti-slavery influence, to the Western Reserve in Ohio. This is ascribed to the influence of the murder of Lovejoy, but it should be noted that Adams county was also the seat of David Nelson's Mission Institute and the Quincy church so recently incensed by mob interference. It was not until the next presidential election in 1844 that the Liberty Party was thoroughly organized in Illinois. This party sprang directly from the old anti-slavery societies which, in Illinois, were found in clusters of communities where northern settlers predominated. Its purpose, like that of its successors, was to form a permanent northern party, and it relied for growth on the spread of anti-slavery principles.

In 1841 the State Anti-slavery Society, in its meeting at Lowell, openly advocated independent nominations; but the Liberty Party made but one nomination, that of Frederick Collins, for Congress in the third congressional district. In 1842 it nominated candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, C. W. Hunter of Madison county and Frederick Collins; but, in 1843, there were candidates for Congress from all the districts, except in the southeastern part of the state. By this time the northeastern part of the state had come to that leadership, which it afterwards held. "Nothing is so stimulating to a party as to have some district in which it is generally victorious to which in any circumstances it may reasonably look for support."[1]

It has been claimed that as the moral effects of the anti-slavery societies came to be supplemented by political methods, the leadership fell to "laymen," to the "American man of affairs" in the country at large.[2] This, however, was not the case in Illinois. When the leadership passed from the hands of David Nelson, it fell to Owen Lovejoy, who for the next fourteen years was the leader and personification of Illinois abolitionism, "a zealous, persistent agitator, eloquent in speech, radical and sometimes bitter to the point of virulence, but

1 Smith, *The Liberty and Free Soil Parties*, 47, 52, 301, 304.
2 Smith, *The Liberty and Free Soil Parties*, 18.

capable of inspiring the greatest respect and confidence in the anti-slavery men of the northeast counties." He was a favorite delegate to the National Conventions, a favorite candidate for Congress from northern Illinois; but he was during all this time a Congregational minister. A native of Maine, educated at Bowdoin College and Bangor Theological Seminary, he preached for a short time at the Presbyterian church in Alton and then went to the Congregational church at Princeton, where he was pastor from 1838 to 1855, the years of the rise and fall of the Liberty, Free Soil, and Free Democratic parties. He preached later, also, in the First Congregational church of Chicago. His boldness and courage in politics was equalled by his boldness in the pulpit. All his congregation did not like his anti-slavery views, and on one occasion, when he saw some leaving the church, he said: "Brethren, I see some of you don't like my anti-slavery doctrines; but I am going to preach them till you do like them, and then preach them because you like them." Another instance was when a saloon was opened in Princeton with a sign, "Hole in the Wall," and Owen Lovejoy preached from Ezekiel viii, 7–10, congratulating the owner on his appropriate sign. The saloon was soon closed.[1]

Of the other acknowledged leaders in the political movement, Frederick Collins, who was a favorite anti-slavery candidate, was one of the five sons of Deacon William Collins who founded Collinsville. All had been in Dr. Lyman Beecher's church in Litchfield, Connecticut, and were staunch upholders and promoters of the Puritan cause.[2] Dr. Richard Eells, who was a candidate of the Liberty party for Governor in 1846, was deacon in the Quincy Congregational church. He was prominent in a long law case growing out of the Fugitive Slave Law. Dr. Charles Volney Dyer,[3] who was the Free Soil candidate for Governor in 1848, was a native of Clarendon, Vermont, and a graduate of Middlebury College. Ichabod Codding,[3] who lectured extensively on Anti-slavery, especially on the Kansas-Nebraska issue, and who "was a power in the organization of the Republican party," also studied at Middlebury College and became a Congregational minister. He held pastorates in Princeton, Lockport and Joliet.

Zebina Eastman, the editor of the Anti-slavery papers, "The Genius of Liberty" and "The Western Citizen," and easily the leader in this field of anti-slavery agitation, was a native of North Amherst, Massachusetts. From 1842 to 1861 he made his home in Chicago. His wife has recently testified to the unpopularity he incurred as editor of "The Western Citizen": "From the windows of her humble home on the corner of Madison and Dearborn streets, she often saw her neighbors use tongs to remove the objectionable copies of the abolitionist paper left on their doorsteps." He and his wife were leaders in the movement by which, in 1852, forty-eight members of the First Presbyterian church of Chicago withdrew from that church and organized the Plymouth Congregational church. Their reason

1 Thomas Pope, *Manuscript history of the Quincy Church.*

2 Smith, *The Liberty and Free Soil Parties*, 63.

3 Bateman and Selby, *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois.*

for so doing was, that they did not believe that the Presbyterian church had taken a sufficiently bold stand on the side of freedom for the slave.[1]

With these acknowledged leaders in Illinois who served as candidates, speakers, and publishers of papers and hand-bills all so definitely allied with the Congregational churches, one cannot say that in Illinois the "clerical anti-slavery forces" were so involved in sectarian troubles, that they had to leave the leadership of anti-slavery matters to others.[2]

At the National Liberty Convention in 1844, at Buffalo, C. V. Dyer was a vice president and Owen Lovejoy a secretary. In 1846, the Liberty Party polled the highest vote in Illinois, with the main interest centering on the candidacy of Lovejoy for Congress in the fourth congressional district. With the year 1848 arose the issue of territorial slavery and the Liberty Party gave place to the Free Soil Party. Lovejoy served on a committee at the Convention of Free Soilers in Buffalo, August, 1848, when Van Buren was nominated for the Presidency. Northern Illinois was enthusiastic for the new movement, and the total vote of 15,774—three times the largest vote of the Liberty Party—came largely from the northeastern counties. The Free Soil Party, however, rapidly declined in Illinois. The combinations and coalitions of that party facilitated a rapid disintegration and did not satisfy the desires of the anti-slavery leaders.

With the compromise of 1850, reappeared the religious, moral, nonpartisan anti-slavery agitation induced in Illinois, especially by the opposition in the northern counties to the Fugitive Slave Law. In July, 1850, a Northern Christian Convention was held in Chicago with representatives from the slave states. Owen Lovejoy was prominent in its deliberations, and the convention insisted on the religious character of its anti-slavery action. In 1851 there was a drawing together of the old anti-slavery men for political action, a return to first principles, and the name "Free Soil" was generally abandoned for that of Free Democracy.[3]

In the same year a convention was called at Granville and a new society was formed on religious, moral and political grounds, of which J. H. Collins was made president. The language and methods of the early years of anti-slavery agitation reappeared. In 1852, at the last National Convention of Free Soilers, or Free Democratic Party, when John P. Hale was nominated for the Presidency, Lovejoy was the representative from Illinois. Illinois gave 9,966 votes to Hale, including the votes of many clergymen and professional men as well as young men who cast their first votes under the influence of the anti-slavery reaction produced in northern Illinois by the Fugitive Slave Law.

With the passage in 1854 of the Kansas and Nebraska Bill, abolitionists, Liberty men and Free Democrats were ready to unite in a new northern anti-slavery party; and in that year the Republican Party was successfully organized in the two northern districts of

1 *Chicago Legal News* (December 6, 1902), XXXV, 135.
2 Smith, *The Liberty and Free Soil Parties*, 18, 70.
3 Smith, *The Liberty and Free Soil Parties*, 144, 156, 225-229, 244.

Illinois, with Lake county as the "focus of anti-slavery sentiment." The efforts of Lovejoy and Codding to create a state organization by a convention at Springfield, failed for lack of the coöperation of the anti-slavery Whigs. A few years after this the successes of the Republican party placed Lovejoy in Congress, when he gave up his regular pastoral work and the field of his activity passed largely from Illinois to the national capital.

Meanwhile, the Home Missionary Society and its friends, as they became more outspoken, used the facts of the existence of slavery and its attendant evils as one more reason for the greatest possible effort to extend the work of the eastern churches and the principles held by them. In 1844, in the annual report of the society, slavery is named for the first time as one of the leading hindrances to the growth of the churches in the West and South: "Another obstacle and one of increasing magnitude which may well fill the heart of the philanthropist with deep concern, is the existence of that horrible anomaly in American institutions—slavery—covering so large a portion of our territory and enthralling more than two and one-half million souls, made in the image of God, in a bondage worse than Egyptian, that prevents the most direct and effectual efforts for their salvation."[1] In this same report a chance sentence shows how the thought of disunion was then even in men's minds: "Admit that our Union may not continue; its disruption would only increase our work and call more loudly for the intensest efforts."

The Mexican War so outraged the sentiments of the society's officials that they were willing to publish letters which before they had thought wise to suppress: "Much public attention has recently been given to the enlargement of our national domain, and, in connection with this, to the probable extension of slavery over large sections of the territory which has been, or may be, annexed to our country. To show how slavery affects the progress of evangelical religion in the communities where it exists, the following letters from different states are given: First—'Were this a free state I would not falter a moment, but, looking to God for assistance, would go forward. As it is, I have many fears. Slavery here is strong. It affects every nerve and fibre of society. Not a single one of them that I have heard of can read the Bible, and there are not a half dozen of them that make any pretensions to piety. They are almost never called in to be present at family worship. I know of no way in which they are instructed. I do not know of a single master or mistress that ever teaches them any systematic religious truths. I do not see a cloud as big as a man's hand that portends their emancipation. I could not say a syllable to the slaves themselves in private without setting in motion a train of opposition that would soon drive me from the state. The masters are nearly as inaccessible as the slaves. They are sensitive and suspicious to a very great degree. Second—'In this state this institution keeps 200,000 immortal beings in deep ignorance. Ninety-nine hundredths of them receive no instruction, not even in a Sunday school. In almost in every part of the South where there is no positive law forbidding their being

1 *Home Missionary*,, June, 1844.

instructed, public sentiment amounts to a prohibition equally effective. If a minister should preach much to them, he is liable to be suspected as an abolitionist.' Third—'Scattered population, due to the agricultural system, prevents schools and instruction of children. Leads also to ignorance of white children who cannot be sent away. A free school system has never flourished. Churches are few and feeble. This condition has exiled many of our best ministers to the free states.' Fourth—'You are already aware that many devoted ministers of the gospel have left this and other states, because of the patriarchal institution.'"

In the '50s, with the agitation in Kansas and Nebraska, came freer expression of opinion. In 1853, an able paper in the Home Missionary, enumerated as "Three Dangers to American Institution," arising out of American prosperity: The influx of foreigners, the growth of slavery, and the increase of territory by annexation. Under the last point the writer justified the annexation of Louisiana by national interest, and the annexation of Florida by universal patriotism; but, from the annexation of Texas, he claimed many evils had resulted, chief among them, war; while the addition of New Mexico and California had aroused great sectional animosity. He goes on to say: "The interests of the annexation are determined almost solely by the interests of slavery. Cuba, Hayti, and the neighboring states of Mexico, and even the distant Sandwich Islands, are all viewed through this medium. We cannot in our present condition make another stride in annexation without fearfully augmenting our most imminent and threatening dangers."[1]

Meanwhile, the society was rather sharply called to account by its constituency for what seemed to them an inconsistent policy in continuing to send funds to slave states. A resolution adopted by the Congregational church, in Champaign, shows the feeling. They voted "to make no contributions to, or countenance in any way, any society upholding slavery."[2]

The society attempted a justification of its policy: "While it may not be accomplishing all it could wish for the removal of this great evil, it is doing much. Some things which have been suggested it does not attempt, because they do not seem to the society or to the great mass of judicious persons, to be right or proper. For example, it does not, as some would have it, wholly withdraw from slave states. It does not, as others advise, make the exclusion of slaveholders from communion a condition of missionary aid and thus interfere with the rights of the churches to define their own terms of membership. But it bears an open and unembarrassed testimony against slavery; it ranks it among the chief evils with which the Gospel must grapple; it sustains no ministers in slave states who are implicated in this sin, it claims as the right and duty of missionaries so to bring the Gospel to bear on this subject that the moral sense of their people shall be awakened and enlightened and they may be led to free themselves from its guilt. When the missionary in fulfillment of this duty encounters opposition and obloquy, he is sustained by the sympathy

1 *Home Missionary*, May, 1853, by Rev. L. P. Hickok, of Union College.
2 *Minutes of the Congregational Church*, Champaign, Illinois.

and pecuniary aid of the society as long as there is hope of usefulness, and then when duty bids him depart, he is assisted to enter other fields." In this utterance, the society claimed that it stood on the same ground as the New School Presbyterian and Congregational churches as affirmed by the General Assemblies of 1818, 1846 and 1850, and by the General Convention of Congregational Ministers at Albany in 1852. The latter declared it "to be the duty of the missionary societies to grant aid to churches in slaveholding states, in support of such ministers only as shall so preach the Gospel and inculcate the principles and application of Gospel discipline that, with the blessing of God, it shall have its effect in awakening and enlightening the moral sense in regard to slavery and in bringing to pass the speedy abolition of that evil." [1]

In spite of this statement, the society had soon to take the position of the churches and refuse financial aid to all churches not excluding slaveowners from membership. An example of the divisive power of this great question is shown in the history of the Third Presbyterian Church of Chicago. Up to 1851, all churches of eastern origin in Chicago were Presbyterian. The Third Presbyterian Church was noted for its strong anti-slavery sentiment, including as it did in its membership Hon. W. W. Farwell, prominent in anti-slavery political measures of the time, and Philo Carpenter, whose house and store were famous terminals of the Underground Railroad. The General Assembly of 1850 meeting at Detroit, having failed to take positive ground against slavery, a majority of the Chicago church voted to stand aloof from all meetings of Synod and Presbytery till this policy should be changed. Disciplined for this irregularity, a majority of the church established themselves in the lecture room of the church, the personal property of Mr. Carpenter, and there formed the First Congregational Church of Chicago, preached to in its early days by Jonathan Blanchard, later identified with Wheaton College, by J. M. Sturtevant and Owen Lovejoy, and in time proud of its record as "turned out, burned out," jeered at as a "nigger church." This church strongly criticised the conservatism of the Home Missionary Society. For years it held a Fourth of July prayer-meeting for the deliverance of the slave; it observed a month of prayer before the inauguration of President Lincoln.

There was much in the internal development of Illinois to lead to a constantly increasing anti-slavery feeling. Even her early settlers, mainly from the south, did not wish slavery in Illinois, both for economic, and, in many cases, for moral reasons. This was proved by the majority, small indeed, which prevented the constitutional amendment permitting slavery in 1824. Then came the large influx of Easterners, most of them opposed to slavery, and accustomed to give ear to the moral instructions of their religious leaders. Their moral sentiments were shocked by the turbulent acts and temper of the border and by the sight of the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. Moral sentiment aroused led to such a certainty of conviction

1 *Home Missionary*, March, 1853.

that Illinois could even criticise New England for her moderateness of statement: churches criticised the society that gave them existence: and church members criticised the reserve of the church itself; and the religious leaders saw in all the agitation and in the threatening danger still greater need for the spread of Christian truth. As the contest deepened and patriotism was invoked to bring the country out of her trouble, it seems only a natural result that one in four of the entire male membership of the Puritan church in Illinois sprang to the defense of the Union against the coalition of slaveholding states.

CHAPTER XIII.

ECCLESIASTICAL RIVALRIES.

During this era of anti-slavery agitation, New England Puritanism was disturbed by the rapid development of the Roman Catholic Church in the Northwest. The French Catholic priests of the early days had offered little opposition to the Protestants They did not object to the distribution of tracts and Bibles among their own people, and they never attempted to take the matter of education from the Protestants, who were so eager and so sure of their own method. What now particularly alarmed the Home Missionary Society and its constituency, was what appeared to be a definite plan on the part of European Catholics to capture a large part of the Northwest for their faith.

A warning was given in May, 1842, through the organ of the society: "The territory of this nation is an unlimited and inviting field, to which the human swarms are gathering from other lands. The crumbling dynasties of the old world are sending hither materials to reconstruct the fabrics which are there tottering to ruin. Already the foundations are laid for social institutions such as our own fathers knew not. Foreign Papists are planting our fairest territories thick with their schools. Colony after colony of men of a strange tongue and stranger associations, are possessing themselves of our soil and gathering around our ballot boxes." "In Missouri, Illinois and Arkansas there are seventy-four priests with literary institutions of every grade in which, at least, a thousand youths are now training—here then the very heart of the West is infected and every pulsation throws abroad a strain of influence baneful to the civil freedom and religious well-being of unnumbered thousands." [1]

More hopeful was the following expression: "The most formidable foe of the universal spread of the Gospel is, doubtless, to be found in the Roman apostacy—where else could the contest be bloodless, where so successful as here, where no racks or tortures forestall the force of argument—here where the benighted children of error will surrounded and pervaded by the silent but resistless influence of our schools and presses; here, where every one of them may stand erect and feel that he is a man and may assert his right to doubt as well as to believe; to discuss and judge as well as to listen and obey? Instead, therefore, of deprecating the coming of so many foreigners as a curse, we should regard it as the fulfillment of our national destiny."

1 *Annual Report of Home Missionary Society*, June, 1842.

In July of this year, 1842, it was reported that an agent from Illinois had been in England and on the continent for the purpose of sending emigrants to the western states. Money to buy lands in Illinois and elsewhere had been raised. Land offices had been opened in England and Germany for the sale of western lands. The emigration from Ireland, England and Germany was large.[1]

In November of this year, the "Grand Scheme" itself is fully advertised and exposed with increased effort to rouse public sentiment against what was held to be an impending danger: "That there is a formal conspiracy of the crowned heads of Europe to bring our republic under papal control, as has been sometimes asserted, may or may not be true. But there can be no doubt that many of the potentates and grandees of Catholic Europe greatly desire such a result. The nobility and political economists who regard with amazement and terror the accumulation of masses of population in the overcrowded states of the old world, without instruction, without employment, and without bread, have a powerful reason for pushing these masses off upon our comparative vacant territory."

During 1842 a pamphlet was issued in London and Dublin, entitled "Proposed New Plan of a General Emigration Society; by a Catholic Gentleman." The object was to be the sending of the Irish poor to America. From this well written pamphlet the editors of the missionary magazine made large extracts. The reasons for such emigration are stated, as follows: "1. To dispose of excess of population. 2. To create demand for British manufactures. 3. To make the Catholic religion predominant in the United States." The pamphlet contained a map copied by the missionary magazine to show the region it was thought best to settle in. The territory included Upper Canada, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and part of Iowa. The desirableness of this country was proven by descriptive extracts from De Tocqueville, Captain Marryatt, Miss Martineau and Judge Haliburton. The officials of the Home Missionary Society drew three conclusions from this document: "1. We may expect colonization stimulated and systematized more and more. 2. The great field of conflict for religious and political supremacy will be the West. 3. *Now* is the the time to save the West."

In the following year, 1843, the foundation of certain benevolent societies in Europe to advance Catholicism in America gave further occasion for alarm. Frederick Rese, Vicar General of the Diocese of Cincinnati, interested himself particularly in the spread of Catholic missions in America, promoting the gathering of funds for this purpose in a memorial to Leopoldina, Empress of Brazil. The Pope granted special indulgences to those aiding this fund, and Metternich wrote to the Bishop of Cincinnati commending the movement. It soon gathered $61,000. The Society for the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons, during 1840, appropriated $160,000 to missions in America.[2]

The intense feeling on the subject occasioned even such extravagant language as that used in an address in Painesville, Ohio, in

1 *Home Missionary*, July, 1842.

2 *Home Missionary*, February, 1843.

1844: "The Apocalyptic Beast is watching with intense anxiety, and straining his eyeballs for a favorable moment to spring in upon us with one immense bound and make us his prey. Rome has more men, more money, more cunning and more perseverance than we have. Rome never stops short of universal victory or universal defeat."[1]

From this time on Romanism is classed with intemperance and slavery as an evil threatening the country. The citation of a few titles of articles appearing in the Home Missionary, show the nature of the Protestant opposition: "Jesuits in the United States," January 1846; "Catholic Clergy in the United States," February, 1846; "Indulgences," June, 1848; "Aid to the Roman Catholic Church in America," August, 1848; "Jesuit Seminaries at the West," October, 1851; "Does the Romish Church Discourage the Reading of the Bible?" July, 1853.

The utterances on the subject, of some of the most distinguished men of the day will show how seriously the matter was regarded. Dr. Leonard Bacon referred to the "gigantic efforts of the Papal church to achieve for itself the dominion of this hallowed soil."[2] Professor Park, of Andover, wrote: "Send our armies to the great valley where the Pope will reign unless Puritanism be triumphant. Remembering the fires of Smithfield and the ashes of our fathers who sleep in Bunhill fields, let us pray together for this 'vine'."[3] Speaking of the moral conflicts before the country, Dr. Mark Hopkins wrote: "Rome and despotism are pouring in the materials of which mobs are made. Infidelity in its various forms is more extensive than many suppose. When we remember the sectional jealousies and distracting relations of slavery, and see how easily the standard of a civil and servile war might be unfurled, we cannot see the burden on the church likely to be diminished in our day."[4]

Catholicism was not the only "error" by which the West was assailed. The missionary fathers, after the comparative uniformity in religious beliefs to which they were accustomed in New England were astonished and shocked at the sectarian divisions, the multiplicity of sects, with which they came in contact in the West. Rev. Julian M. Sturtevant writes as follows of the conditions in New England when he was a boy:[5] "We had Baptist, Episcopal and Methodist churches, but they were far too few in number to seriously impair the unity of the New England church life. The Baptists were numerous only in Rhode Island. Both they and the Methodist societies that were beginning to be organized here and there, usually sought locations remote from Congregational places of worship, and thus rarely came in contact with them. The world was then broad enough for all. There was no crowding. The consequence was that the church in any particular town was not regarded as the representative of some distinct denomination, but simply as a branch of the church of Christ, 'the Church Universal.' We thought of ours as

1 *Home Missionary*, June, 1844.
2 *Home Missionary*, May, 1852.
3 *Ibid.*, September, 1845.
4 *Ibid.*, November, 1845.
5 *Julian M. Sturtevant, An Autobiography*, 23.

the 'Warren Christian Church.' If, in my childhood, I had heard our place of worship mentioned as Congregational, I would have needed to ask an explanation of the unusual term. Such was the vantage ground of the Connecticut churches at the time of which I am speaking, and the same thing might be said of the larger portion of Massachusetts and also of a considerable part of Vermont and New Hampshire. I call it vantage ground, not, however, to Congregationalists as a religious denomination, but to Christianity."

How different the condition in Illinois. One settlement of eighty families had fourteen sects. One town of 800 inhabitants had eight denominations. The missionaries soon began to class together the forms that seemed to them most disastrous. This despairing picture of southeastern Illinois in 1835 brings them all together: "One or two churches are dead, two or three more are soon to expire. At Vincennes a Catholic college and nunnery are soon to be built. Romanism, Arianism, Universalism, Campbellism, Deism and almost every delusion prevail."[1] Another writer sums up the errors in this form: "The West is the arena where the contest is to be carried on between Infidelity, Romanism, Mormonism and Satanism on one side and Christianity on the other."

To their sorrow they had to confess that many of the "false teachers," the Roman Catholic priests, the Mormons, preachers of Universalism, the Millerites, lecturers on Atheism, mesmerism and phrenology, came from the east. Another cause for chagrin was that Northern Illinois was most seriously affected; the Fox river region was the "stronghold of Universalism," Hancock county was almost entirely given over to the Mormons, while the nearby valley of the Des Moines was a center of infidelity under the leadership of Abner Kneeland. "Paine's 'Age of Reason' is read with avidity in many families and its doctrines advocated by men of influence. Not a few mothers drink in this poison. Many immigrants from Europe are disciples of Hume and Voltaire. Clubs and associations are found in almost all of our towns on the rivers."[2] One family went so far as to keep their family record in Tom Paine instead of the Bible.

One sect, which at the present time has good standing, in that day particularly aroused the indignation of the Easterner. "Campbellism" was described as the "bane of the West," the "common enemy of all evangelical Christianity." These people were also known as "Disciples," and were the followers of Alexander Campbell of Bethany, Virginia. Rev. J. M. Sturtevant was much criticised for fellowship with a church of this sect near Jacksonville, and it was scarcely considered an evangelical body. While not slow to oppose the doctrines of some of their leaders, Sturtevant kept up his friendly relations with the Disciples and in his old age wrote: "It is my belief that no portion of the religious community around us has grown in grace more rapidly than that denomination."[3]

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1 *Home Missionary*, March, 1835.
2 *Home Missionary*, December, 1841.
3 *Julian M. Sturtevant, An Autobiography*, 248.

Most blighting in its influence for the short time it remained in Illinois was the Mormon propaganda. Driven from Missouri the Mormons had established themselves at Nauvoo, in Hancock county, where they arrived in 1839. The effect on the community was immediate. Nearly all the old citizens became anxious to sell their property and many prepared to move away, so great was the disinclination to live near the Mormons. "Their recruits come from churches where the cardinal doctrines of the Bible are kept in the the background." A Mormon preacher was reported to have said that he would as soon undertake to make "sugar out of dry hickory as to make a Mormon out of a Congregationalist."[1]

In a year or two it was apparent that the Mormons intended to rule the region politically as well as religiously. Since somewhat recently popular articles by Mormon writers have appeared in some of the magazines in which persecutions suffered by the Mormons in Illinois and attending their departure from Missouri are dwelt upon, contemporary witness to the experiences and feelings of the community may be of interest. In August, 1842, a missionary in Hancock county wrote: "The Mormon farce is manifestly drawing to a close. They are rallying from every point to this county for the purpose of carrying the elections and thus getting all the public business into their own hands, and there is a state of growing excitement among the rest of the community. I am afraid the next August election will not pass by without bloodshed. I presume Nauvoo is as perfect a sink of debauchery and every species of abomination as ever were Sodom or Nineveh."[2] The next year the report is that there are 15,000 Mormons in the county; that they hold all the offices. Old citizens are much disturbed. It seems like the eve of an outbreak, while the Mormons themselves are "worse than all that has been said about them."[3] But the end was not yet. It 1845 the "old citizens are irritated almost to desperation by the daily insults and depredations upon their property, by a people whom a few years since they received into their bosom and both clothed and fed as poor, deluded, persecuted objects of charity. But they were themselves scarcely less deluded. They now suffer, as a consequence of their benefaction, the loss of business, of personal safety and general prosperity to the country. The absorbing question with this whole people now is, how shall we rid ourselves of this curse? We were afraid the people would drive it from their borders by violence, but God seems to have purposed that it shall ripen among us and with wonderful suddenness perish utterly in its own corruption."[4]

Rev. J. M. Grout, the missionary at Warsaw, wrote in February, 1846, that life and property were not safe. In September of the same year he wrote that ten surrounding counties had pledged themselves to see that the Mormons move from Illinois and already most of them had fled to Missouri. He had attended three funerals of prominent citizens killed by Mormons in the last three months. At one time

1. *Home Missionary*, November, 1840.
2. *Ibid.*, August, 1842.
3. *Ibid.*, October, 1843.
4. *Home Missionary*, October, 1845.

parties of Mormons went about terrorizing the county. The next month Mr. Grout reported nearly all the Mormon property as sold and at higher rates than their opponents could have got for theirs had the Mormons remained. "A miserable remnant, perhaps 2,000, still remained in Nauvoo, the objects of suspicion, hatred and fear. Their temple is yet unsold. The main body is encamped almost within speaking distance. The old citizens are impatient of such delay and fearful of their return." Four months later he writes: "Controversy seems to have closed. Order and quiet has reigned since a few days after the battle which induced Mormons and semi-Mormons to leave Nauvoo. A few acts of theft have been committed, but the offenders have been dealt with promptly according to law." His words of a year later show how deep the demoralization of the region had been. "Great prudence, discernment, patience and forbearance were necessary to persuade a population which had been inflicted with the vicinity of Mormonism to commence anew to build up society and the utmost sagacity to keep them at work."[1] The "temple," which seems to have been a problem to both parties, was burned in 1848; the "work of some nefarious incendiary," an act which was not approved by the better portion of the population. It was not till 1853 that the missionaries reported Hancock county as really recovering from the Mormon occupation.

Jo Daviess county suffered from a smaller Mormon invasion under rather peculiar circumstances. Many came directly from Nauvoo, but more "from the colony of one Strang, who, in view of the corruption of the church at Nauvoo, attempted to establish a reformed Mormon church in Wisconsin. Many of his followers left him, and his attempt to impose phosphorescent light for cloven tongues defeated his whole enterprise. This colony is the result of the breaking up of these two dens since their faith and confidence in their leaders is not strong enough to take them to California."[2]

One cannot emphasize too strongly the utter lack of any ground of agreement between such colonies and the New England settlers. The Mormons appeared too late to gain a real foothold in Illinois and had to do pioneer work in the unoccupied field of Utah to make a permanent hold for themselves.

1. *Home Missionary*, March, 1848.
2. *Ibid.*, September, 1848.

CHAPTER XIV.

EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCE.

Turning to a successful side of the missionary's work, it is to be noticed that his influence in educational matters was creative, definite, permanent. Illinois owes much in her educational development to him. He brought with him the knowledge of the three-fold educational organization of New England, the college, the academy and the common school; and he added to this, wrought out from the circumstances of his surroundings, the idea of industrial education by the State.

Applying this program to Illinois, we find, in the local conditions, certain helps and certain hindrances to the cause of education. To begin with there was generous financial encouragement provided by the general government in the terms of the ordinance of 1787 for the disposing of lands in the Western Territory, by which section sixteen in each township was devoted to school purposes. The enabling act of 1818 also devoted one entire township for the use of a "seminary of learning" and of the five per cent of the net proceeds of the sale of government lands within her limits granted to the use of the State, it was provided that three-fifths should be used for educational purposes, one-sixth of this sum to be used for a college or university. In 1882 this, together with a surplus revenue fund given by Congress in 1837 and certain county funds, amounted to a principal of $9,691,932.89 with an income of $636,204.64.

In enumerating the disadvantages with which education had to contend it is obvious at once that funds would not flow into the State treasury very early from these provisions since the sale of lands would naturally be slow till settlers became abundant. In fact the first sale was not made till 1831 in Greene county. Again the early settlers were not in so prosperous a condition at first as to lead them to impose taxes upon themselves nor were they as a class at all disposed to promote free schools.[1]

To this should be added the fact that the legislative bodies of the State were controlled by representatives of the southern settlers during all the years we were considering. Any advance in educational matters was wrested from these men only by long siege and after repeated rebuffs. These legislators diverted the school funds to the

1 W. L. Pillsbury, *in Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1881-82* p. *CXXIII, CXXVII*; *in Report, 1887-88, LXVII*; Samuel Willard, *History of Early Education in Illinois, in Report, 1883-84, LXVII.*

payment of other State expenses so persistently in the early years that Congress withheld the fund for several years previous to 1831. By act of 1835 the interest was distributed to the counties and no longer loaned to the State. The State by public act pays interest on all the funds which have accrued to it from the sources named although the funds themselves were long ago diverted to State uses.[1]

The establishment of free schools, the appointment of a State superintendent of public instruction, an institution for the education of teachers, and an "industrial university," where the main objects for which special and long continued effort were necessary.

"The paramount influence of the New Englanders in accomplishing this program is fully acknowledged by those most conversant with the educational history of the State. The origin of the American common school in Illinois was due to the tide of immigration from New England." "But as the immigration from the south and especially from the east poured in the modes of life of the people changed; then the earth floor and the slab seats and the puncheon writing desk gave way to oaken boards from the saw mill. The ceilings and the walls ere long were clothed with lath and plaster; the chimney of brick and the stove superseded the hugh chimney of sticks; glass windows admitted light; the framed and boarded house took the place of the log structure, and change followed change till the present tasteful, well-furnished school house caused the older expedients of the early days to be forgotten. With these the pupil and teacher and text books changed in equal ratio." This authority it should be said is particularly anxious to give proper credit to all the sources of help in the educational struggle.[2]

The earliest of New England educational workers to be noted was Rev. J. M. Peck, also remembered for his services in keeping Illinois an anti-slavery state, a missionary of the Massachusetts Baptist Society and later an agent of the American Bible Society. He is described as "perhaps the most indefatigable worker in behalf of education the State has ever known." He furthered the educational interests of his own denomination in Rock Spring Seminary and Shurtleff College. "He brought teachers from the east and helped them to employment; in every way and at every time he used tongue, pen, time, means and influence for the cause of education."[3] In 1833 at Vandalia in the first educational convention ever held in the State he organized the first educational society, "prominent among those special agencies, educational associations, State legislatures, ladies educational societies, teachers institutes and popular methods" which participated in the struggle for popular education up to 1855.[4]

This society was called the Illinois Institute of education. Mr. Peck was made a corresponding secretary. It devoted itself to the gathering of information as to the condition of the primary schools of the State, to corresponding with centers of school information outside

1 Pillsbury, *in Report, 1881-82, XXXVI.*

2 Mayo, *Education in the Northwest, in U. S. Commissioner of Education Report, 1894-5*, II, 1543; Willard, *Early Education in Illinois*, cxviii.

3 W. L. Pillsbury, *in Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1885-86*, pp. cvi, cxx; Willard, *as above*, p. cxviii.

4 Mayo, *as above*, p. 1541.

of the State and to an effort to inform and arouse the public on the subject. Mr. Peck's denominational paper, the Pioneer and Western Baptist, became also an educational organ, publishing information, suggesting a second educational convention at Vandalia in December of 1834 and printing its proceeding, an "Address to the People of Illinois" and the "Memorial" to the Legislature.

A free school law had been passed by the General Assembly of Illinois, January 15, 1825, embracing all the essential points of the free school idea. The law met so much opposition that it never became generally operative, and was soon made ineffective by an amendment removing the general tax. The following statement is the conjecture of its origin. "If we could get at the unwritten history of the passage of the law we should, I imagine, find its passage was secured by strong personal influences, more potent in Vandalia with the small number who could be talked to face to face, than with the sparse and widely scattered people of the State at large in those days of few newspapers with short subscription lists, when travel was chiefly on horseback."[1] As a result of the educational agitation in 1834, above noted, another broad and liberal educational bill was introduced into the Assembly only to fail in its most essential feature of general taxation.[2]

It was at this session, 1834-5, that Illinois college gained its charter. Its doors had been open since 1830, but it had been impossible to gain a satisfactory charter until this session. By making common cause with Shurtleff and McKendree colleges, she gained her charter, not without restriction however. All three were forbidden to hold more than 640 acres of land or to establish theological departments, restrictions removed in a few years. Such men as Hon. Samuel D. Lockwood and Judge William Brown, men "devoted, heart, soul and purse to the cause of education"[3] worked for the bill. Judge Lockwood had shown his affection for Illinois College before this time when Mr. Ellis proposed to make the tour through Greene, Morgan and Sangamon, the "upper counties," in the interests of the Home Missionary Society and of the proposed college in 1828. Judge Lockwood proposed that his clerk, Thomas Lippincott, who afterwards became a missionary of the society, should accompany him and he furnished a horse and the funds necessary for the expedition. Later, when all had made their home in Jacksonville, he selected the college site for his own home, but gave it to the college on the condition that the college should be located there.[4]

The nature of the opposition can be gained from the three questions discussed in the report of the committee on petitions:

1. Are institutions of this character really needed in the State?
2. Is it important to their success that the trustees who manage them should become bodies corporate?
3. Can corporate powers be granted with safety to the public interest?

1. Pillsbury in *Report*, 1885-6, pp. cviii, cxv.
2. W. L. Pillsbury, *Report* of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1885-6, p. cxxv.
3. *Ibid.*, p. cxii.
4. *Julian M. Sturtevant, An Autobiography*, 176.

The following is an extract from the argument on the last question: "These men have some peculiar claims upon our confidence and support. They commenced their operations in the infancy of our State, when the means of education were exceedingly limited, and schools of every description were few and far between. They do not simply prepare to educate those who should hereafter come upon the stage, but the present generation also. The cry now is from all parts of the State, educate the present generation. The petitioners are ready to vociferate the same loud and long. This is the very thing that they propose to aid in accomplishing. They come to us and point to the present state of education in Illinois and simply ask us to afford them such facilities as will enable them to prosecute this noble work without embarrassment. Shall we then withhold from them that countenance and support which they ask? It would seem that none would be more deserving of encouragement than the pioneer in the cause of education. In the opinion of your committee the petitioners are richly entitled to confidence of their fellow citizens, and the support of ourselves as a legislature."[1]

In addition to the members of the "Yale Band" already noticed whose interest was assured to the new college either by direct service for it or by sympathy and indirect service, one must note its first president, Edward Beecher, who came to Illinois in 1833, Truman M. Post, Samuel Adams, and Jonathan B. Turner. From the beginning the college grew in numbers and influence. Drawing its teachers and to a large extent its funds from New England, there was appropriateness in calling Jacksonville, its home, "the New Haven of the West."[2] The Home Missionary churches contributed to its support. Land as well as money was given to it. Its professors did not confine their labors to the class-room. They went abroad lecturing on temperance, and they promoted anti-slavery sentiment; but chiefly they tried to rouse interest in popular education. Mayo says: "One of the most potent and influential of all the special agencies in promoting education was the new college of Illinois. It threw its entire influence on the side of the common school."[3]

In 1834 Professor J. B. Turner spent his summer vacation in traveling at his own expense to the counties southwest of Morgan county, delivering addresses in behalf of public schools wherever he could gather an audience. Through these years the papers had such notices as these: "At commencement in Jacksonville, August 21, 1832, an address on common schools by Rev. Theron Baldwin." "November 13, 1834, an address in Springfield by Professor J. B. Turner, subject, 'Common Schools.'" "Lecture on 'Education' by Rev. Mr. Baldwin at Mt. Carmel, Wabash county, August, 1836. A subscription for an academy followed." Commencement time was for years taken as an opportunity to present the claims of this interest. At the commencement in 1836 the Illinois Teachers' Association was formed. For four years Rev. John F. Brooks, of the "Yale

1 W. L. Pillsbury, *report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1887-88*, p. cxxvii,
2 *Historical Morgan and Classic Jacksonville.*
3 A. D. Mayo, *Education in the Northwest.*

Band," was its secretary. Addresses at this first meeting were made by J. F. Brooks, Edward Beecher, Theron Baldwin, and J. M. Sturtevant. Of the eight officers chosen six were Congregational clergymen. The aim of the association was to elevate the qualifications of teachers, "giving permanency to their employment, and by mutual counsel fixing upon the best text-books and methods of instruction." The minutes of the four years following, with meetings all held in Jacksonville, record discussions on all sorts of matters pertaining to the conduct of schools, with committees appointed to promote the forming of county associations, to investigate the text-books used in schools and similar subjects. In 1837, Rev. Lyman Beecher, of the Lane Seminary in Ohio, was present at the Illinois commencement and addressed the association.[1]

In 1837, "The Common School Advocate" appeared, published at Jacksonville and edited "by a few literary gentlemen who, from their deep interest in this subject, generously volunteered their services for one year without remuneration." Samuel Willard ascribes the editorship to Rev. Theron Baldwin.[2] Its first editorial urges the importance of national and state secretaries of education, the first mention of a subject on which much agitation developed later. The next number gave a *resume* of Rev. C. E. Stowe's (a brother-in-law of Edward Beecher) report on the Prussian system of private schools. This report by calling attention to the normal schools of Prussia had particularly interested the East, where the question of the state's establishing normal schools was becoming prominent. This paper ceased to appear at the end of a year. The "Union Agriculture and Western Prairie Farmer," which appeared in 1841, added common school interests to agricultural under the editorship of John S. Wright, of Massachusetts. He agitated two subjects particularly, the appointment of a State Superintendent and a normal school. Up to 1855 this paper occupied the field of school journalism in Illinois.

Parallel with the influence of Illinois College in promoting the interests of common schools was that of the "Ladies Association for Educating Females," founded in Jacksonville in 1833. Its aim was "to encourage and assist young ladies to qualify themselves for teaching." Female education had received early attention. While John M. Ellis was founding Illinois College with his wife's help he also began the Jacksonville Female Academy in 1828. This is said to be the earliest institution for the education of women in the north-west, outside of Ohio. The first teacher, Miss Sarah C. Crocker, was recommended by Mary Lyon. Miss Crocker was the first vice-president of the Ladies Association and Mrs. Theron Baldwin its first secretary, while the other two officers were Jacksonville ladies.[3] "The first year five were aided and received tuition and books, assisting in some families as part compensation for board. The third year forty-five were assisted in different parts of the State. The association met with favor wherever known; friends and means were raised up,

1 W. L. Pillsbury, in *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1885-86*, pp. cxxix-cxxxiii.

2 *Ibid, 1883-84*, p. cxvii.

3 W. L. Pillsbury, *in report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1887-88*, p. p. lxxx, cxxxix, cxiv, cxliii. Eames, *Historic Morgan and Classic Jacksonville.*

not bounded by rivers or hemmed in by mountains. Auxiliaries were found in New York City and Rochester, New York; Madison, Wisconsin; Davenport, Iowa; Chicago, Galesburg, Springfield, Canton, Peoria and Waverly, Illinois. Sewing circles in New Haven; Connecticut; Brooklyn, New York and various other places, contributed to the treasury. In fifty years from its founding the association had aided 1,200 young women and raised $25,091.35.[1]

In 1840 the Illinois State Education Society was formed, J. M. Sturtevant's name appearing on the committee calling the convention which led to the forming of the society, and Rev. J. G. Bergen of Springfield was its presiding officer. This society memorialized the legislature urging especially the creation of the office of State Superintendent, but general taxation and a State Superintendent were put off.[2]

It was John S. Wright who in his "Prairie Farmer" proposed the educational convention of 1844 at Peoria, printing letters from President Sturtevant and others favoring it. It was held in October with Rev. Aratus Kent of Galena as chairman. This convention also memoralized the legislature at length.

A State Superintendent was again urged and Mr. Wright appeared before the legislation committees to explain and elucidate the project. According to the terms of the school law of this year the Secretary of State was made ex-officio State Superintendent of common schools and the school law was improved in various other ways.[3] Every home missionary was pledged to promote popular education and the following passage from a report to the society in 1845 shows adequate interest in the practical questions at issue as well as a full appreciation of the missionary's own part in educational work.[4] 'All history shows that there are no agents so efficient in promoting education as evangelical ministers; hence, home missionaries should be multiplied to meet the demand. And, perhaps, in this western country where so little interest is felt in the cause they should be especially instructed to carry this point by using every means within their reach, such as lecturing on education, visiting schools, procuring competent teachers, and using their influence to establish primary schools and academies. We want also a few general agents, say one to a state, like your state superintendents in the east, who shall travel from county to county, delivering lectures on education and diffusing information on the subject. Have you not a few educated, accomplished, eloquent, splendid laymen who have enough of Howard's spirit to devote years, or a life, to an untiring effort to raise, each one state, to such a pitch of educational enthusiasm that they will be honored throughout the State in all coming time as highly as St. Patrick in Ireland."

The Peoria convention was followed by conventions at Jacksonville in connection with the commencement of 1845; at Winchester, in September, 1845; at Jacksonville, in January, 1846; and at Chicago, in

1 Mrs. Emily J. Bancroft, *Fiftieth Anniversary report of the Ladies Association for Educating Females.*

2 W. L. Pillsbury, *in report of the Superintendent of Public Instructiou*, 1887-88, p. cxiii, cxxxvii.

3 W. L. Pillsbury, *in report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1887-88, p. cxlvii.

4 *Home Missionary*, September, 1845.

October, 1846. At the Chicago convention, a Teachers' Institute was organized and by 1850 such institutions had become common throughout the State. In that year Prof. J. B. Turner conducted one in Pike county with fifty-five teachers present. From 1850 to 1855 the story of the struggle for free common schools belongs more definitely to the educational as distinct from the religious development of the State, although in 1853 when the State Teachers Institute of Illinois was founded in Bloomington there were not teachers enough present to fill the offices and they had to fill them with clergymen, voting, however, "that in succeeding times it shall be the policy of the Institute to have its offices filled generally with practical teachers."[1] In 1855 came the great victory. The bill drafted by the State Superintendent became in its main features the law. It contained "provisions for the State tax for schools, for unrestrained local taxation and for a free school in every district for six months in the year." Even with this final victory echoes of the old opposition were heard. "Superintendent Edwards, and others who went over the State, say that opposition to free schools was very bitter in many counties, particularly in the southern part of the State and they concur in saying that but for the State tax and the mode of distributing it the bill could not have been passed. The tax was collected upon property, and distributed two-thirds on the minor population and one-third upon area. It was at once seen that the scheme favored the poorer at the expense of the richer counties; and the counties where there was most hostility to free schools were the chief gainers by the plan of distribution. "If those fellows up north want to pay for schools down here, we'll let 'em," they said.[2]

The number of schools increased from 4,215 in 1854 to 10,238 in 1858. The close of the period, 1860, found Newton Bateman, a graduate of Illinois College and Lane Theological Seminary, in the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction; William H. Wells, a native of Connecticut, who came to Chicago in 1856 from teaching in the State Normal School of Westfield, Mass., as superintendent of schools in Chicago; and Richard Edwards, who was born in England but had received his education in Massachusetts and had held important teaching positions in that state, as principal of the State Normal University.

The agitation for a State Normal School and an Industrial University belongs also to this period and the accomplishment of those objects is largely due to the efforts of Prof. J. B. Turner. Prof. Turner [3] was born in Templeton, Mass., and graduated from Yale college in 1832. He was a brother of Asa Turner of the "Yale Band." He went to Illinois College in 1833 and was a teacher there till 1848 when his pronounced views on slavery and the evils of sectarianism led him to resign.[4] He was a man of original ideas and took the broadest view of the development of the State. We have already

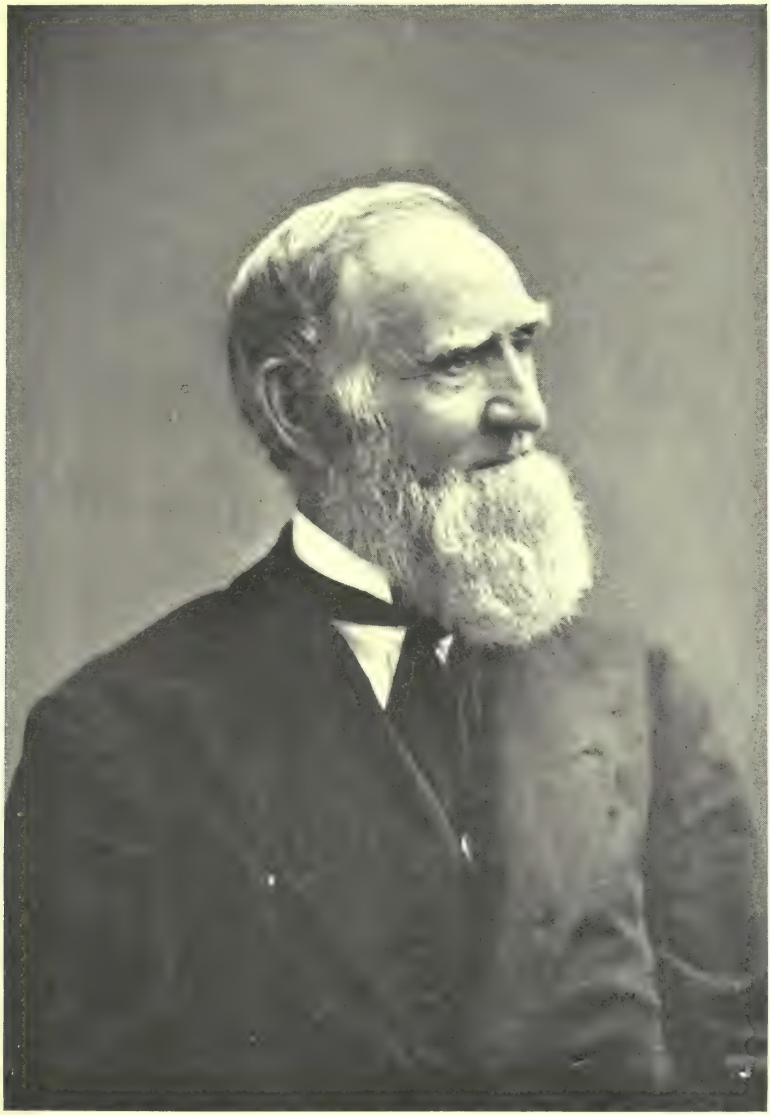
1 W. L. Pillsbury, in *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1887-88, p. lxxxviii.
2 W. L. Pillsbury, in *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, p. clxii, *eff.*
3 *Congregationalists and Popular Education* (*Jubilee Papers*, Ottawa, 1894.)
4 Eames, *Historic Morgan and Classic Jacksonville.*

seen how in connection with his duties at Illinois College he found time for lecturing over a wide territory on common school education.

After leaving Illinois College Turner continued his work for education but also interested himself in the industrial development of the State. He originated the planting of corn by machinery and introduced the osage orange for hedging purposes. The following is the account of its introduction: "He used to seek and make use of all opportunities to go out and talk to the people on education. He found the farms wide apart, and farmers busy, at great cost of labor, time and material, in fencing their farms with split rails, laid in the Virginia crooked fence. They were obliged, too, to settle in the woods or on the skirts of the forest, because it cost so much to fence open prairie. He said to himself: Those people are too much burdened to think and act about education: the best help toward schools in Illinois will be an improvement in fencing. Can not hedging do the work? This train of thought fermented in his brain from 1834. He began to experiment in hedging, trying various shrubs, native and foreign. He sent to England for the hawthorn. A visitor to his house to whom he told his quest suggested that he should try bois d'arc or osage orange. At considerable expense Prof. Turner got a quantity of the seed, which proved worthless. He tried again and getting fertile seed and thence seedlings he continued his experiment until he was satisfied that he had the best hedging plant for the prairies. The popularity of the osage orange need not be told; but the singular fact that the root and ground of its introduction was Prof. Turner's interest in common school education deserves to be recorded in the educational history of Illinois, with his authentic verification as the writer of these lines had it direct from the professor-farmer." The history of Professor Turner's leadership in the finally successful movement for a State Industrial University has been fully set forth by Mr. Pillsbury in an earlier volume of the Historical Society's *Transactions* and need not be repeated here.

It is in the history of secondary education that it is hardest to trace definite New England and Puritan influence. The academies of New England were too prominent a feature of her educational system to leave any doubt that the Illinois academies were copied from them. Morever we know definitely from the Home Missionary records of the founding of one and another by the home missionaries; for example, the Jacksonville Female Academy by Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Ellis in 1828; Monticello Seminary for young women, the gift of Capt Benjamin Godfrey, with Rev. Theron Baldwin as principal; Rev. Samuel Foster's school for classical students and young ladies in Bloomington; Miss Chappel's, later Mrs. Jermiah Porter's Seminary in Chicago. From the year 1834, the statutes contain "hosts of acts of incorporation of academies and colleges, some of them at towns whose very names have disappeared from the maps."

The fact, that academies and seminaries in the following towns are mentioned in home missionary reports, indicates the especial interest of missionaries in these schools; Houghton, Hillsboro, Waverly, Henry, Geneseo, Port Byron, Peru, Elgin, Galesburg, Batavia, Bunker Hill, Paxton, Belvidere, Whipple, Dover, Princeton, Roscoe,



JONATHAN BALDWIN TURNER.

Carbondale, Wenona, Belleville. One writer speaks of ten or fifteen academies in northern Illinois. There were seminaries for young ladies at Monticello, Godfrey, Rockford, Jacksonville, Du Quoin, Granville, Washington, Carlinville, Galesburg, Canton and Marshall.

The young ladies' seminary at Rockford has been perhaps the most prosperous and successful of these. At a general convention of the congregational churches of the northwest, held in Cleveland, Ohio, in June, 1844, a resolution was adopted that "the exigencies of Wisconsin and northern Illinois require that those sections should unite in establishing a college and a female seminary of the highest order, one in Wisconsin, near to Illinois and the other in Illinois, near to Wisconsin. From the first it was believed that the college should be at Beloit. In 1845, after four conventions held at Beloit, a board of trustees was elected to care for both institutions. Rockford raised $3,500 for the Seminary and the trustees voted to locate it in that town. On February 25, 1847, a charter was granted to the incorporators. Aratus Kent was named first here as among the trustees. Flavel Bascom of the "Yale Band" was also one of the number. Of the sixteen incorporators eight were clergymen. The same men were the incorporators of Beloit College.

In expectation of the opening of the Seminary, Rev. L. H. Loss, then pastor of the First Congregational Church, invited Miss Anna Peck Sill, of the Cary Collegiate Institute in Genesee county, New York, to come to Rockford and open a school, preparatory to the proposed Seminary. This was just the opportunity she desired for a life of missionary and educational service, for which she was fitted by the best preparation New York then afforded. She opened her school in 1849 in Rockford with seventy pupils. In 1851, her school was formally recognized by the trustees of Beloit College as the preparatory department of Rockford Female Seminary, whose charter had already been obtained. This charter granted full collegiate powers though the institution retained the name Seminary untill 1892. Fifteen were admitted in this year 1851 to the Seminary to constitute its first class of whom seven graduated in 1854. Miss Sill continued the leadership of the school for thirty-five years, and raised much money for it in the east. She is said to have been a woman of wonderful endowment of head and heart and possessed also of indomitable will. In 1852, the Seminary passed into the control of a separate board of trustees although for many years certain men were on the boards of Beloit and Rockford.[1]

Linked thus to Beloit in its beginnings, we see how the pioneer ministers of Illinois did not limit their eduational interest to Illinois. Beloit College in Wisconsin and Iowa College at Grinnell, in Iowa, owed their foundation to Illinois home missionaries. With untiring effort, the New England missionaries and their friends fostered, cherished, promoted the interest in free public schools until they were well established. They first suggested careful and efficient

1 Church, *History of Rockford*, 287-295.

supervision of schools; they felt the need of special education for teachers, and from their ranks, came the man who first gave tangible shape to the desire for industrial education.

In the field of moral achievement within a social unit like a state, it is difficult, if not impossible, to estimate the influences which emanate from any group of people, such as the settlers from New England in Illinois; or from their institutions, such as the church. We can, however, recount the moral issues that were in men's minds during a given period and find the attitude of different classes of society toward these issues. The history of later years will show where a compromise of conflicting opinion has occurred or where one set of opinions has triumphed in social action.

Public opinion of today does not view certain matters, as for example, Catholicism, in the same light as did the New Englanders in Illinois forty or fifty years ago; but in many directions we must acknowledge the exceeding excellence of their ideas and ideals. They stood for order, thrift, economy and enterprise. They encouraged the formation and expression of public opinion. They looked with intelligence beyond their own communities to the welfare of state and nation. They valued personal integrity above all things. To foster this, churches with all their allied organizations were multiplied east and west, north and south. But integrity must be informed, broadened, and so there must be education, colleges for leaders, common schools and industrial education for all the people. Who may say that these influences of the past have not already conditioned the present Illinois whose true greatness is measured alone by the enlightened integrity of her people.

Captain Thomas J. Robinson.

BY

McKendree H. Chamberlin.

JUDGE THOMAS J. ROBINSON.

CAPTAIN THOMAS J. ROBINSON.

Captain Thomas J. Robinson was born in Appleton, Me., July 28, 1818. His father and mother were, respectively, of English and German extraction, though both were natives of the state of Maine. Young Robinson's earlier years were spent on a farm, where his industry was proverbial, notwithstanding a life of that sort was uncongenial. While in his teens he learned the cooper's trade, at which he earned the money to school himself. Having finished the course of study at Kents Hill Academy, he immediately afterwards taught school in his home neighborhood, and with eminent success.

In 1838 he came to Illinois. It required thirty days for him to make the journey. He settled at White Hall, where he taught school for three years, and with a success which won him an enviable reputation throughout Greene and adjoining counties. In the meantime, he was appointed, by Governor Carlin, assessor for Greene County, and made the first perfect list of property ever scheduled for its taxpayers; a list which, it is said, to this day, is referred to for its completeness and business-like classification.

In coming to the West his journey, for the most part, was made by water. He was greatly interested in everything pertaining to his travels and the problem of water transportation proved to him an absorbing question. For a practical understanding of this subject, he engaged himself as a clerk on a Mississippi steamer, running between New Orleans and Memphis, at which post he remained for two seasons, after which he made a visit to his native state.

Having spent a year at his old home, he returned to White Hall, by way of Chicago, in 1843. This city, at that time, had a population of but nine thousand, and its surroundings, coupled with its shifting population, were far from furnishing young Robinson with any data to warrant the conclusion that it could ever be made a permanent commercial centre, notwithstanding he lived to see it become one of the world's great cities. In commenting on this subject, in after years, he said: "The people there, during my first visit, seemed to be staying because they could not get away," adding, as an illustration of the then standard of values, "I could have bought, for $50. the ground, at the corner of Jackson and Clark Streets, now occupied by the Grand Pacific Hotel."

On his return to White Hall, he acceded to the urgent request of its people to resume the office of teaching, and for another two years he engaged in that vocation. The four succeeding years he acted as deputy in the Treasurer's and County Clerk's office, where his obliging habits and careful business methods, as a public officer, won for him great popularity among the people of Greene County.

In 1846 he was married to Miss Amy Ann Henderson, of White Hall, a young lady of fine intellectual accomplishments, charming personality, and exemplary Christian character. Together with his brother-in-law, Mr. Percy Henderson, he purchased a farm near Hillsdale, in Rock Island County, where he remained for three years, when he sold his interest in this agricultural venture and formed a partnership with Temple, Dickerson and Company, and, for a period of five years, engaged in the mercantile and milling business, at Port Byron.

Convinced that Rock Island was a natural point for building up an important commercial and manufacturing centre, he moved to that city, in 1853, and purchased of Judge John W. Spencer a partnership interest in the Rock Island-Davenport Ferry. He was at once put in complete control of the concerns of this partnership, when he added a second boat to the equipment, immediately introduced steam, in lieu of the horse, as motive power, thereby making Rock Island one of the most noted, as well as profitable, trans-river locations on the entire Mississippi. On the breaking out of the Civil War, Judge Spencer, his partner in the ferry, being an ardent sympathizer with the cause of the Confederacy, sold his interest to Captain Robinson, taking the latter's note, without security, and moved with his family to the South. As an indication of Captain Robinson's integrity and his purpose to meet, with fullness, any obligation undertaken, it is to be said that, on maturity of the note, every dollar of the obligation was met in gold coin when at a premium of $2.80. The ferry property still remains a portion of the Robinson estate.

Captain Robinson, from the date of his removal to Rock Island, became a powerful factor in promoting the interests of that city, always maintaining that it, together with Moline and Davenport, would, eventually, prove one of the leading manufacturing centres of the western country.

There was no feature of Rock Island's progress with which he was not, in some form, identified. He was one of the organizers of the Rock Island Stove Company, the Rock Island Glass Company, the Illinois Watch Company, the Rock Island Quilt Company, and the Black Diamond Coal Company. While on a business visit to one of the eastern cities, he saw, for the first time, a street railway in operation. On his return home, he at once promoted the organization of a company which built the first line of street railway in Rock Island, between that city and Moline—now expanded into a superior electric system, taking in the city of Davenport. He was conspicuous in his labors to secure the location of the Government Arsenal on Rock Island, and lent his active coöperation in promoting the construction of a railroad between Rock Island and St Louis—now the St. Louis Division of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy. He was also identified with Mr. Frederick Weyrhauser, one of the heaviest timber dealers in the western country, in the development of the lumber industry in the forests of Wisconsin.

An enterprise to which he gave much time and a large expenditure of money, was the Hennepin canal. He was a firm believer in the duty of the general government to generously foster all undertakings whereby the navigable rivers might be improved, as well as the

construction of connecting canals, to the end that the general public might have the cheapest form of transportation for its produce. It was his contention that, in building the Hennepin canal—now known as the Illinois and Mississippi—taken in connection with the Illinois river and the Illinois and Michigan canal, the distance to Chicago, by water, from all points on the upper Mississippi north of Rock Island, and one hundred miles below the latter point, would be reduced more than four hundred miles. From the beginning, he advocated that it should be a ship canal, for he was among the first to declare that the Lakes and the Gulf would one day be joined together with deep water transportation, through the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, and that the Hennepin canal should be constructed as a tributary, in anticipation of the consummation of the greater enterprise. So it may be said that, through his unceasing labor, and generous expenditure of money, he created a sentiment in behalf of this public utility which led to the Federal appropriations, through the efforts of Congressmen Thomas J. Henderson and William H. Guest, for inaugurating its construction. With the recent appropriations made, it is believed that the canal will soon be completed. To the day of his death, Captain Robinson believed that the Hennepin canal would not only be completed but that it would, ultimately, be made a deep water proposition; that the Lakes and the Gulf would one day exchange cargoes on sea-bottomed vessels, and that this government, eventually, would follow in the wake of France in giving to its people the benefits of an inland system of waterways which would reduce the cost of transportation to a minimum.

In 1871 he founded the Rock Island National bank, an institution which still exists, and through its thirty-four years of history has held rank as one of the strongest and safest financial institutions of Western Illinois. Captain Robinson was its president from the date of its organization to the time of his death, and it was his pride, from the beginning to the end, to make and maintain its solvency so thoroughly that not even a breath of suspicion could be lodged against its integrity.

So well did he affect this purpose that, in 1873, when President Grant resumed specie payments and so many banking institutions went to the wall, he weathered through extreme conditions of which the public had not the least intimation. At a sacrifice he utilized every available asset he could command to withstand the crisis—one which gave him greater anxiety of mind than any other in his whole business career, So effectually did he invest this institution with his own personality that it was designated by the public as the "Robinson Bank" rather than by its corporate name, and, on the authority of its present able president, Mr. H. E. Casteel, the same appellation is given it by many of the people, though its founder has been dead for more than six years.

Captain Robinson was, in his early life, a Henry Clay Whig, maintaining his affiliation with that organization until its disintegration, when he gave his adhesion to the Republican party. He was always intensely anti-slavery in his sentiments, and at once entered into full

sympathy with the policies of the new party, giving his vote to its first presidential candidate—Gen. John C. Fremont, in 1856. He had an extensive acquaintance with the leading men of the country in both church and state, and numbered among his strong personal friends, Lincoln, War-Governor Yates, Governor Oglesby and others. Of Yates, during the war, he was oft-times the confidential adviser and could have held from him any appointive office within his gift, but always refused to stand for a promotion of that character, both State and Federal. Exceptions may be noted in the fact that, at one time he was associate judge of Rock Island county, and also for several years, during the Civil War, chairman of the county board of supervisors. These were local offices urgently pressed upon him during a period when extraordinary local service was needed, and, at the expense of his personal interests, he met these demands upon his time with an efficiency still recognized by the public he served so cheerfully. His decisions were always equitably rendered, and his wisdom, in passing upon complicated questions, entitled him to the well merited appellation of Judge, though, out of court he was never designated by that title– the term Captain, won on his Mississippi ferry, being the one by which he was uniformly accosted.

He was a man of strong religious predilections and an adherent of the Methodist Episcopal church. While he gave liberally of his means to its support, he was generous in his donations to other religious organizations, and his personal benefactions to the poor were many and made without ostentation. He was a member of high standing in the Masonic order and built the temple in Rock Island, now occupied by that organization.

He took great pride in the city of his adoption, where he spent forty-six years of his life, and in addition to the greater enterprises with which he had to do, and which have been already enumerated, his influence was felt in the lesser undertakings, the development of which gave moral force to the city's prestige. As said recently by one of Rock Island's oldest citizens, "There is but little here that has not received the impress of his life and character."

Captain Robinson was a man nearly six feet in height, compactly built, with a large and well-balanced head, and therefore of impressive appearance. He was active, alert, scarcely anything escaping his attention. He was thoughtful and deliberate of speech; not ostentatious, and in spite of the record hereinbefore given, shrank from the thought of being regarded as a leader. His leadership, however, was of the strongest type—that of directing. He cherished no sense of envy, and seldom spoke disparagingly of others, no matter what the provocation. His hospitality was proverbial, and his friendship steadfast. He was well advised on all public questions, civic and religious, was an entertaining talker among congenial spirits and a splendid listener. Had he chosen politics as a profession, he would have been one of the most influential men of his time in State politics. He achieved a fortune of several hundred thousand dollars, no part of which could be accounted as illegitimately accumulated.

This brief and inadequate sketch would be imperfect if some word were not offered concerning his home life, which was ideal. For

nearly fifty years he lived profoundly happy in the companionship of a wife who merited to fullness the reverential devotion he gave her, and who went to her reward four years prior to the death of her husband. Two sons were born of this union—J. Frank and John, the latter having died in infancy. The surviving son was the sole heir of Captain Robinson's fortune, and, while he cannot be named among the early citizens of Illinois, a short sketch of his life, following that of his father, will not be held as an inapt interjection into these records.

JAMES FRANKLIN ROBINSON

was born in Rock Island county, February 27, 1849, and died May 23, 1902, in the city of Rock Island. He was the son of parents named in the sketch immediately preceding. As a boy he was noted for his excellence of disposition, devotion to his parents and fidelity to duty. As he grew up to manhood the many sterling qualities of his father manifested themselves, though, by reason of the fortune he was to inherit, he was relieved from the strenuous life incident to the pioneer experiences of his parents in a western state. Unlike the majority of young men, with parents in affluent circumstances, he was considerate, thoughtful and industrious; without convivial habits indeed, inclined to religious subjects. After a thorough preparation in the public schools and academy, he entered the Northwestern University, at Evanston, Illinois, where, in 1872, he graduated in the classical course. After his graduation he returned home, entered his father's bank, where he assumed the responsible post of cashier, which he held with faultless precision to the date of his father's death, April 12, 1899—a period of twenty-five years. He at once became the successor of his father as president of the bank, and was also made president of the Central Trust and Savings Bank of Rock Island. These two positions brought him in close and frequent contact with the leading business men of the country, since the well established character of both these institutions gave them rank among the most reliable banking institutions of the State.

Like his father, Mr. Robinson's affiliation was with the Methodist Church, and that society was not only a constant sharer of his benevolence, but felt the influence of his personality in its social and religious gatherings wherein he took an active part. Other religious denominations also experienced the benefits of his benefactions, while the poor of the city, irrespective of race or color, knew what it was to be subjects of his beneficence.

He was a man of fine literary tastes, and an ideal representative of a class much too small, though fortunately increasing—the scholar in commercial life. While gentle of disposition, and refined in his tastes, he was outspoken in his beliefs, with no apology to make for his convictions and their emphatic espousal.

The fact that he inherited the large possessions of his father made no difference in his habits of life. He worked as hard at his desk as

if he were employed to do clerical service, on a salary, and cared for the great industries left him by his father; in the meantime, adding to their volume by inaugurating new enterprises.

With one hand he gathered, while with the other he disbursed, by contributing to various public enterprises—especially benevolent objects. His office, in his busiest hours, was never barred against the approach of a visitor the rich and the poor equally welcome to his presence; the latter, in innumerable instances, experiencing the value of one who had more than words to help in the hour of need.

He was married to Miss Mary Rhoads, of Pekin, Illinois, October 29, 1879. To Mr. and Mrs. Robinson two daughters were born—both of whom died in infancy. His wife bore the impress of true nobility, and was a most fitting companion to share with him in his love of literature, art and music; a companion who encouraged his life of gaining and giving, and whose labors of benevolence so effectually supplemented the disposition of her husband that the names of Mr. and Mrs. Robinson are reverentially regarded in homes where poverty and distress were not infrequent guests.

In addition to his varied contributions to home enterprises and charities, in greater or lesser amounts, it should not go unnamed that he gave to

The American University, Washington, D. C.	$25,000
The Denver University, Denver, Colorado	10,000
The Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois	5,000
The McKendree College, Lebanon, Illinois	5,000

No better insight to the mind and heart of this man can be given than to enumerate the provisions of his will wherein he disposed of his estate, amounting to several hundred thousand dollars; a document made and executed after the fullest conference with his wife, who gave its every provision her cordial concurrence. After providing that, during her lifetime, his wife was to enjoy the income from the entire estate, he specified the following objects as beneficiaries to his fortune:

His homestead—a magnificent residence, occupying a whole block, in Rock Island—to be dedicated to the uses of a Deaconess Home and Orphanage, to be held in trust by the First Methodist Episcopal Church of the city; $6,000 to be held in trust, by the same church, and to be loaned out on good real estate security—the income to be applied toward the maintenance of the Sunday School, keeping in repair the organ placed in the church by his father, and other expenses.

The residue of his great estate was to be applied as follows:

One-eighth share to the missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal Church; another one-eighth share to the Northwestern Branch of the Foreign Missionary Society of the same church; another one-eighth share to the Church Extension Society of the same church; two-eighths share to the Northwestern University of Chicago; and the remaining three-eighths to the American University, at Washington, D. C.

His wife was left to carry out the provisions of this will—a responsibility to which she is cheerfully and sacredly devoting her best

energies. Of Mrs. Robinson it may be said that, while the income of the estate is her own, to fullness, much less of it is used for her own personal gratification than would be expected from one in her station. She carefully husbands the income, that she may, after serving her own purposes, continue her benefactions to worthy causes, giving over any unused increment to the permanent fund. A notable instance of her benevolence, from her income, was the supplementing of her husband's gift of five thousand dollars to McKendree College, in a like sum, for the same object, whereby this oldest college of Illinois was enabled to close up a proposition which secured to it $100,000 of endowment.

In this hasty sketch is found a fitting supplement to the one furnished of the father. In it there is a culmination of splendid forces which had their origin in the one and found fullest fruition in the other.

Forgotten Statesmen of Illinois.

Hon. Conrad Will.

BY

John F. Snyder.

FORGOTTEN STATESMEN OF ILLINOIS.

Hon. Conrad Will.

The cynical opinion of Governor Ford regarding Conrad Will, that "he was not remarkable for anything except his good humor, and his having been long a member of the Legislature,"* is characteristic of the Governor's misanthropic bent of mind in his later years of failure and adversity. Dr. Will was a remarkable man in many other respects than those mentioned by Governor Ford. Success in life is universally accepted as the true measure of ability. Judged by that criterion, Conrad Will is entitled to rank with the able and noted founders of Illinois; he occupied a position of successful prominence in the social, commercial and political affairs of the community in which he lived, and was conspicuous in the State's counsels for the first eighteen years of its existence.

Daniel Will and his wife, Maria Magdalena Lora, both of German descent, were residents of the vicinity of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Of their ten children, Conrad, the subject of this sketch, born there on the 3rd of June, 1779, was the sixth. His thrifty parents early taught him habits of industry, self-reliance and honesty, that became ingrained as elements of his character throughout life. In growing up, when not at work on the farm, he attended subscription schools, where, by diligence and application, he acquired the rudiments of an English education, still retaining knowledge of his mother tongue, the Pennsylvania German dialect, which was spoken altogether in their family intercourse. Having aspirations for a higher social position than that of a common laborer, or plodding tiller of the soil, he studied medicine in one of the Philadelphia medical colleges and received from it the doctor's degree.

Then seeking a location for the practice of his profession, he settled in Somerset county, in the western part of Pennsylvania, and there, in the spring of 1804, he was united in marriage to Miss Susanah Kimmel, who was also of German parentage. For nine years he there followed, over the stony hills and narrow valleys of that region, the uneventful calling of a country doctor, succeeding passably well as a practitioner, and also, by frugality and economy, in the accumulation of property. But that country was too slow for his progressive ideas, its soil too poor, and opportunities too limited, to satisfy his ambition. He became dissatisfied, and cast about for a wider and more promising field for the exercise of his energies and

* Ford's History of Illinois, 1854, p. 170.

spirit of enterprise. Illinois had then been given a separate territorial organization, and was attracting a horde of immigrants from many of the southern and seaboard states.

The many accounts Dr. Will heard of the great West, particularly of the new Illinois Territory, its wonderfully fertile soil and many natural resources, its people and productions, were so favorable that he decided to go and personally inspect it, and if then it came up to his expectations, to move his family there and make it his permanent home. Acting upon that conclusion, in the early spring of 1813 he set out from his native state, and traveling by the usual flatboat route down the Monongahela and Ohio rivers, and up the Mississippi, in due time arrived at Kaskaskia. The business outlook in and about that old town impressed him favorably. The Territorial officials extended to him their usual courtesies, and offered him many inducements to cast his lot with theirs in the new country.

Purchasing a horse, saddle and bridle, he passed the summer in riding over the bottoms, prairies and hills, visiting the settlers at their clearings and examining the soil, timber, rocks, fruits and flowers, and gaining all possible information of what the country produced and was capable of producing. Satisfied that the territory had a grand future before it, and that he could better his condition by making it his home, he prepared to return to Pennsylvania for his family. At that time money was very scarce in the Illinois settlements, and consequently prices of all their products were very low. Seeing the opportunity presented by this condition for reimbursing the expenses of his western trip, Dr. Will, with gold coin he had brought with him, bought up a small drove of cattle at nominal figures, and started back on his long overland journey to Pennsylvania. That venture, well illustrating Dr. Will's energy, thrift and enterprise, was successful. He took his cattle through in fair condition and sold them at a handsome profit, and was thus one of the earliest pioneers in the drover's traffic—driving western cattle overland to eastern markets—that some years later gained very large proportions, Undisturbed by the war with England, he passed the year 1814 in closing up his business in Somerset county, and perfecting preparations for his removal to the far west. In the spring of 1815 he again embarked with his wife and three children and a few household goods, in a flatboat, and descending the Monongahela and and Ohio rivers, ascended the Mississippi to Kaskaskia without delay or accident.

Securing a house there for the temporary abode of his family, the Doctor looked around for a location affording a wider scope for his versatile abilities, as he found the territorial capital well supplied with physicians, and presenting no opening for engaging in any branch of business promising satisfactory results. Restoration of peace with Great Britain, by the treaty of Ghent, signed Dec. 14, 1814, had the effect in the following year of greatly stimulating emigration to Illinois Territory from all quarters of the Union. South of Madison county settlements were rapidly extending from the borders of the principal rivers into the interior, new counties were projected, and aspiring politicians were already agitating the

question of promoting the territory from the second grade to that of a state. The rich lands and fine timber in the southern part of Randolph county through which the Big Muddy and its tributaries flowed into the Mississippi from the great prairies farther east, abounding in game, fish and wild fruits, were then attracting much attention, and many emigrants—particularly those coming from Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Carolinas—took up claims and settled there. When Dr. Will visited them in the summer of 1815 the settlers were quite prosperous and so numerous that they were preparing petitions to be presented to the next session of the territorial legislature praying to be organized into a county to be named Jackson, in honor of the hero of the brilliant victory over the British at New Orleans on the 8th of January, of that year, twenty-five days after peace had been concluded. Dr. Will found the conditions there for business of all kinds so alluring, and was so well pleased with the aspect of the country, and with the people he met, that he at once made arrangements to establish his home among them and share their destinies. Selecting a quarter section of land near a noted saline spring not far from the north bank of the Big Muddy, he entered it at the Kaskaskia land office, and had built upon it as soon as possible a roomy double log cabin with stone chimneys. Into that domicile he brought his family in the fall of 1815, and commenced anew the practice of medicine, soon gaining a professional practice extending for thirty or forty miles around.

At the time Dr. Will became a resident of Illinois, he was 36 years of age, in the prime of life, blessed with strong physical constitution, rugged health and irrepressible energy. The only portrait ever taken of him was painted in oil, at Vandalia, by a traveling artist in the winter of 1824, and that was destroyed by the burning of his son-in-law's house in 1880. In stature he was nearly six feet tall, squarely and compactly built, and weighed usually about 225 pounds. His hair and eyes were dark, and his features full and regular, with pleasant, frank expression. Gifted with sanguine, cheerful temperament, never morose or despondent, and seldom in moods of serious reflection or reverie, he met the petty trials of life and reverses with jolly good humor and strengthened hope. Fond of fun and sport, he told anecdotes well, and specially delighted in playing practical jokes upon his friends, highly enjoying also those of which he was himself the victim. Though of stout figure, he was a capital horseman, an expert in the use of rifle and shotgun, and the best and most persistent fox hunter in all Egypt. Not of very studious habits, Dr. Will had quick intelligence, a large store of general information, and was accounted a good and successful physician. As may be inferred from all these traits, he was eminently social, and genial in disposition, kind, hospitable and benevolent, and, with unbounded faith in humanity, was everybody's friend. And though he was not a church man or member of any secret society, his integrity of character comprised moral conduct, correct habits, sterling honor and incorruptible honesty.

He was not an eloquent speaker, but a very fluent talker, with remarkable tact and keen insight into human nature. Thus constituted it is not surprising that he soon became the most popular man in all that region. At one of the elections, when a candidate for representative in the legislature, he received every vote cast in the district but one, which he lost because of a practical joke he had played that offended that voter.

The new country Dr. Will had chosen to pass the remainder of his life in offered so many encouraging inducements to enterprising industry that a person of his activity and commercial instincts could not long be content with professional drudgery and its meagre remuneration in a community of log cabin pioneers. Among those inducements that influenced him to locate in that particular place was a saline spring not far from the north bank of the Big Muddy river that he thought could be utilized profitably in the production of salt. He would no doubt have entered the land from which the salt water flowed if he could have done so, but it was then the policy of the general government to reserve from sale all saline springs and lease them to individuals for terms of years. With the rapid influx of salt consuming people and cattle throughout the west the supply of that commodity was often a matter of serious consideration. Until introduction of steamboat navigation of the rivers the cost of transportation excluded importation of salt from New Orleans, and the country had to rely upon its own production almost exclusively. By the primitive method of evaporating the saline water with artificial heat the springs in Gallatin county and, later, in Vermilion county, and at St. Genevieve, west of the Mississippi, furnished about all the salt needed in Illinois and Missouri Territories. It was conveyed in sacks packed on horses from the springs to Kaskaskia, St. Louis and other distributing points, and was one of the staple articles of commerce.

Associated with one or two others Dr. Will leased the Big Muddy saline for ten years and busily prepared for salt making on an extensive scale.* The doctor could well be considered the entire company in that enterprise as he furnished all the capital invested in it. In the spring of 1816 he went to Pittsburg, Pa., and purchased from a foundry thirty cast iron evaporating kettles, each of sixty gallons capacity and weighing 400 pounds. By flatboat he brought them down the Ohio and up the Mississippi and Big Muddy rivers and landed them in close proximity to the salt spring. The spring, in the bottom of a ravine, was then dug out and walled up and a pump, operated by horse power, fixed in it to raise the saline water into a reservoir high up on the bank, from which it was conveyed to the kettles placed side by side on long furnaces fired at one end with cord wood, the smoke escaping through the chimney at the other end. The work of evaporation then began; the heated water in the first

* "Salt water in modern times has been discovered in many places in Illinois. On Big Muddy river quantities were manufactured by Conrad Will and others." Reynolds *Pioneer History of Illinois*, 1887, p. 110.

kettle was ladled into the next one, and that into the next, and so on until the precipitated salt was scooped from the last kettle of the row and put out to "drip" and dry.*

In the meantime the territorial Legislature, on the 10th of January, 1816, organized the lower half of Randolph county, including part of the present county of Perry, into a new county named Jackson, and specified that its county seat be named Brownsville. Reynolds says, in his Pioneer History, page 359: "Dr. Will moved to Cahokia and practiced there with a high reputation, as he had done in Kaskaskia. He returned to Kaskaskia and practiced his profession there for many years. He was elected to the Territorial Legislature in 1815, and was instrumental in establishing Jackson county and giving it the name of Jackson and the county seat Brownsville, in honor of those two great generals in the United States army."—(General Jackson and General Jacob Brown). This statement is in part incorrect, as Dr. Will was never a member of the Territorial Legislature. Thomas C. Brown, a young Kentucky lawyer, who located in Shawneetown in 1812, was elected to represent Gallatin county in 1814 in the lower House of the Legislature, and in the council, or upper House, in 1816. He was subsequently chosen one of the justices of the supreme court of the State and was an unsuccessful candidate for Governor when Coles was elected in 1822. It is known that he exerted himself for passage of the bill creating Jackson county and, it has been stated, was rewarded by having his name given to its county seat.

In the law organizing the county it was provided that an election be held there on the first Monday in the following August for a sheriff, three commissioners and other necessary local officers to conduct the civil government of the county; and at that election Conrad Will, Jesse Griggs and John Byars were elected the three commissioners. Upon them devolved the duty of locating the county's seat of justice, which they promptly did, placing it on Jesse Griggs' land, adjoining that of Dr. Will, and as nearly as practicable in the geographical center of the county. In return Mr. Griggs agreed to lay out the town and donate a certain specified portion of it for use of the public. The place selected was on the s. e. qr. of Sec. 2, T. 9 s., R. 3 w., a mile and a half west of the "salt works," situated on the s. w. qr. of Sec 1, T. 9 s., R. 3 w. Of limited width but indefinite length, it was a beautiful site for a small town, on a level "second bottom" of the Big Muddy, above the line of highest water, with that stream on its south and the range of hills on the north. Between the town and the hills, however, was a slough, generally dry in summer, but often the water in it, backed up from the river, was too deep to be forded.

Brownsville soon began to assume the appearance of a flourishing village. That same fall of 1816 a substantial two-story frame house was erected by the county commissioners in the middle of the public square for a court house, and a little later a jail of heavy logs was

* A valuable descriptive account of the salt industry of Southern Illinois by Prof. George W. Smith, of the Southern Illinois Normal University, may be found on pages 245 to 258 of the 1904 *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society.

built. Town lots sold briskly and before winter set in a store and blacksmith's shop, fronting on the public square, were ready for business.

For several years before the founding of Brownsville a band of about two hundred Kaskaskia Indians lived on the Sand Ridge, three miles down the river, occupying a track of land on its north bank two miles long by half a mile in width that the government had reserved for them. Their idle, dissolute habits and thievish propensities made them very undesirable neighbors to the white emigrants who settled around them. In answer to many complaints, the government bought their land, and in 1816 moved them out to the Indian territory, west of the territory of Arkansas, to join the remnant of their tribe gone their some time before. Thus the last of the once powerful Kaskaskias, who hospitably entertained Marquette and Joliet on the upper Illinois river in 1673, took their final departure from the splendid domain in which they were once supreme.

As County Commissioner, Dr. Will promptly and faithfully discharged all the duties required by that office, and continued the active practice of medicine and management of the salt works. In the spring of 1817 he had a large part of his land put in cultivation, thereby becoming a farmer also, and in addition to that he built a store house in Brownsville, bought a stock of goods, and engaged in general merchandising. A year later he built a water mill, for sawing lumber and grinding grain, on Kincaid creek, three miles northwest of the town. About the same time he established on part of his land a tanyard for converting hides into leather—the first tannery in Jackson county.

The doctor's salt works for awhile yielded a fair revenue; but before the expiration of many months annoying obstacles and drawbacks appeared to seriously reduce the profits. First, the spring, issuing from the bottom of a deep ravine, about thirty rods from the river and some fifteen feet above its low-water level, was frequently submerged when freshets raised the river, with the effect of suspending salt-making until the water receded. Then the matter of labor supply became troublesome. The fuel used in the furnaces was wood taken from government land, and though nothing was paid for it, cutting and hauling it was quite an item of expense continually increasing as the distance to the timber lengthened. Wood chopping and hauling, attending the furnaces day and night, sacking and marketing the salt, required many laborers that often could not be obtained, as the new settlers, except in winter, were too busy with their clearings and crops to work out for monthly wages. To meet that demand for hired help, the State Constitution, adopted in 1818, contained this provision. "(Art. VI., Sec. 2) No person bound to labor in any other state shall be hired to labor in this State, except within the tract reserved for the salt works near Shawneetown; nor even at that place for a longer period than one year at any one time; nor shall it be allowed there after the year 1825: Any violation of this article shall effect the emancipation of such person from his obligation to service."

From that date until 1825—and even later—the salt works of Gallatin county were operated almost exclusively by the labor of negro slaves hired from their owners in Kentucky and Tennessee. Interpretation of the above constitutional provision was elastic enough to include the Bid Muddy saline "within the tract reserved for the salt works near Shawneetown," and Dr. Will also hired Kentucky slaves to run his salt works for several years. But there was no economy in employing that class of labor, for besides paying a liberal hire for the slaves, he boarded and clothed them, furnished them medical attendance and care in sickness, was responsible for their safe-keeping, and had to return them to their owners in Kentucky before the expiration of each year, to avoid their constitutional emancipation, then bring them back under new contracts.

To avoid the heavy expense of wood-hauling after the timber had all been cut away for two or three miles around the furnace, it was found advisable to move the furnace to the distant timber. That done, the salt water was conveyed to the kettles by a wooden pipe line made of long, slender trunks of gum trees, bored, by hand, lengthwise with four-inch augurs, and joined together "end to end." There was unavoidably considerable leakage and waste of the spring water by that means of transmitting it; and a new furnace in some other timbered locality was required every three or four years. Then, too, as time passed, removal of trade restrictions in Ohio and elsewhere, and improved facilities of transportation, made competition in the salt-producing business more active with corresponding reduction of price.

The output of the Will salt plant seldom exceeded fifty bushels per twenty-four hours, selling, at first, at $1 per bushel and gradually declining to 50 cents. By the act of Congress, in 1818, enabling Illinois Territory to become a State, the government relinquished to the future State all the saline springs within its limits, and the State of Illinois, by act of its first Legislature, continued the leases of the springs to the same parties who were lessees of the government.

On the whole, Dr. Will's salt-making enterprise was a financial failure, and having sunk in it all the cash capital he brought from Pennsylvania—apart from his purchases of real estate—he surrendered his lease before expiration of the ten years, as we find that "in 1824 the Legislature authorized the Governor to lease the Big Muddy saline to James Pearce. In 1827, Mr. Pearce not having accomplished much in his salt-making, the Legislature relieved him of his obligations relative to the salt works,"* and Dr. Will again became the lessee. The rental of all the salines in Illinois demanded by the general government and by the State was 10 per cent of the salt produced; but "there is no record of any income to the general government or to the State from the Big Muddy saline."* Though unremunerative, Dr. Will still kept the salt works in operation until his death, in 1835, apparently for the accommodation of the people of Jackson county and to benefit the business interests of Brownsville. At his death the Big Muddy salt interest was abandoned. Salt water still

*"The Salines of Southern Illinois." Prof. Geo. W. Smith, in 1904, *Transactions* of the State Historical Society, p. 252.
†*Ibid.*

flows from the spring into the river as it did ages ago. Ruins of the furnaces are yet pointed out to curious visitors, and several of the old iron kettles are now in possession of Jackson county farmers, rendering loyal service in the seasons for soap-making and hog-killing.

Until Brownsville could afford a tavern—and for some time after—Dr. Will's double cabin was the common stopping place for travelers and immigrants passing that way. No one was ever refused a meal or lodgings, and often entire families were entertained there gratuitously until land could be pre-empted and cabins built for them.

Among the many Kentuckians who wandered into Illinois Territory to seek their fortunes, a 17-year-old boy, named Alexander M. Jenkins, came to Dr. Will's house in 1817 and remained there until he was 21 years old. In the meantime several members of his family also migrated from Kentucky to Jackson county. Young Jenkins learned the carpenter's trade, and assisted in building Dr. Will's storeroom, mill and tannery. He was the first constable elected in Brownsville and was a very alert and efficient officer. He clerked in Dr. Will's store awhile, and there commenced the study of law, was admitted to the bar and subsequently gained eminence in that profession. In 1832 he was captain of the only company of volunteers that Jackson county sent to the Black Hawk war; and was the same year elected a member of the lower house of the Legislature, and on its organization, was chosen Speaker. In 1834 he was elected Lieutenant Governor, which he resigned in 1836 to take the presidency of the Central railroad projected in the wild internal improvement scheme of that year. He was afterwards appointed receiver of the Edwardsville land office, and resigned that to engage in merchandising and resume the practice of law. He was a member of the Constitutional convention of 1847; in 1859 was elected judge of the Third judicial district to fill a vacancy; then re-elected at the close of the term, in 1861, and died while in that position on the 13th of February, 1864.

The population of Illinois Territory had so greatly increased, and the politicians and office-seekers had become so clamorous for a State government that the Territorial legislature, at its January (1818) session passed a resolution instructing Nathaniel Pope, the Illinois delegate in Congress, to present a petition to Congress asking for enactment of a law enabling the people of Illinois Territory to form a State government, which he did, and a bill to that effect was passed on the 18th of the following April. In compliance therewith a census of the Territory was taken, and though its population in fact numbered but 34,620, it was reported by the enumerators to exceed the required 40,000; and in accordance with the next provision of the enabling act, an election was held on the first Monday and two following days (6th, 7th and 8th) of July, 1818, for delegates to a convention to frame a State constitution.

When it became known in Jackson county that such an election had been ordered, and that the county was entitled to two delegates, the only question concerning it discussed by the people there was, whom should they select as the other delegate to accompany Conrad Will; for the doctor's ability and prominence made him pre-eminent

in all their public affairs. Their choice fell upon James Hall, Jr., an intelligent and enterprising citizen, though having but moderate education, and he and Conrad Will were elected.

On Monday, August 3d, 1818, twenty-nine of the thirty-three delegates, constituting the first Illinois constitutional convention, met at Kaskaskia and effected a temporary organization by electing Judge Jesse B. Thomas, President, T. V. W. Varick, Secretary, and Ezra Owens, Sergeant-at-Arms. That organization was made permanent, with the exception of replacing Varick with Wm. C. Greenup as Secretary. On the second day Conrad Will and James Hall, Jr., from Jackson, and Bankson and Mangham, from Washington County, appeared, presented their credentials and took their seats. On that day the convention "was opened with an appropriate solemn prayer by the Reverend Mr. Mitchell, at the request of the committee appointed for that purpose on yesterday."* And that one prayer seems to have sufficed for the entire session.

The preliminary work of examining the members' credentials, canvassing returns of the census recently taken—by which it was shown that Jackson county's population was 1,619—appointing committees, and making contracts for printing, occupied the first eight days. When the convention met on the morning of August 11th, Mr. Bankson, of Washington county, arose and announced the death at 1 o'clock that morning, of his colleague, John K. Mangham. After passing resolutions of respect, and for burial arrangements of the deceased member, the convention adjourned until 9 o'clock next day. On convening at the specified hour on the 12th, Leonard White, from the special committee previously appointed for the purpose, sent to the Secretary's desk the draft of a constitution, which was read, and the convention adjourned until next day; and on then convening its earnest work began.

The debates that followed, if any, were not reported. Judging from the only copy now known of the journal of the convention's proceedings—defective in the loss of a few of its last pages—there evidently was more unanimity of opinion, and less controversy and wrangling, among the delegates than has been generally supposed. They were in session but twenty-three days, completing the constitution on the 26th of August.

The part taken by Conrad Will in the deliberation was very modest—in fact, there was but little for him to do, as the real work of the convention had been done before the delegates came together.

On the fourth day of the session "Mr. Kane presented two petitions signed by sundry inhabitants of Randolph county, one praying that this convention shall declare in the Constitution to be formed that the moral law is the basis of its structure, and acknowledge therein a universal parent. The other praying that this convention may declare the Scriptures to be the word of God, and that the Constitution is founded upon the same," which were read and referred to a special committee of five, namely, Kitchell, McFatridge, Will, Whitaker and Harrison. On August 21st Mr. Kitchell of that committee asked that it be "discharged from further consideration thereof," and so it

*Convention Journal, p. 5.

was ordered. Next day "the president laid before the convention the petition of William Thompson and others, praying that the moral law shall be taken as the foundation of the Constitution, and the Scriptures declared to be the word of God, the supreme rule of faith and practice," which, on motion of Mr. Cullom, of Crawford county, was "laid on the table until the 4th of March next."

The draft of a constitution* reported by General White was read by articles and sections, separately, three times. A majority of them were adopted without alteration; others were amended, reconsidered, again amended, and finally adopted in different form and phraseology. It is now impossible to know how each member voted on the many questions brought out before the convention, as they were put on record by call of the "yeas" and "nays" in but fourteen instances. The greatest diversity of views among the delegates was upon the adjustment of salaries of public officials, the status of slaves, location of the State capital, and the right of suffrage. Mr. Will favored liberal salaries, and voted against reducing the annual salary of justices of the Supreme Court from $1,200.00 to $1,000.00, but that amendment was adopted by 17 to 14.

How Mr. Will voted on the first (slavery) section of Article VI is not known. On Timothy Gard's motion to strike out the entire second section—the one permitting the hiring of slaves in other states to work in the Illinois salines—Mr. Will voted "no," and the motion to strike out was lost by 10 to 21. On the motion for its final adoption Mr. Will voted for it, and it was carried by 17 to 14. He also voted for section three of the same article, to retain the system of indentured slavery then existing in the Territory, and it was adopted by the same votes. Removal of the capital from Kaskaskia; or, rather, selecting a site more central for the capital of the new State, seems to have been a foregone conclusion. Mr. Kane and other friends of the old town contended strongly to retain it there for four or five years longer at least, but without avail. Several propositions were offered to locate it at different points and voted down, when finally Mr. Gard's resolution to establish the future capital "on the Kaskaskia river as near as may be east of the third principal meridian on said river," was carried by 18 to 13, Mr. Will voting in the negative. However, when on third reading Mr. Gard offered a substitute somewhat differently conditioned—which was adopted by 25 to 6—Mr. Will voted for it. For want of time the Constitution was not submitted to the people for their ratification; but subsequent tests proved it to be surprisingly well adapted for the government of the new and rapidly developing state.

In the schedule a general election for State and county officers and representatives was ordered to be held "on the third Thursday and the two following days of September next," and was so held in accordance therewith.

At that time political parties based upon questions of public policy were unknown in Illinois. "Nevertheless," says Reynolds, "two

* Judge Breese, who was then a law student in Elias K. Kane's office in Kaskaskia, said the Constitution, modeled in part after that of Kentucky, was written in Mr. Kane's office some time before the meeting of the convention.

parties did exist at the time, and before, in the Territory, and were founded on the qualifications of men for office, and on the 'ins and outs' of power and place. As much bitter feelings and as many rancorous contests were indulged in under these parties as were ever after, when parties were organized on Whig and Democratic principles. Messrs. Edwards, Pope, Cook, General White, Judge Brown, and others, formed one party; and Messrs. Bond, Thomas, Michael Jones, Kane, McLean, and others, were leaders of the other party. A great portion of the country, more or less, was divided between these two parties, and no other existed amongst the people."*

Mr. Will probably had never given the matter of politics in Illinois, or political factions, a serious thought until he served as a delegate in the Constitutional convention. He there came in contact with the leaders of public thought in the embryo State and aligned himself with Kane, the master spirit of that assembly, voting with him on all important proposed measures. From the glimpse of mimic statesmanship he there caught he seems to have experienced a newborn aspiration for public life and office that lost none of its fascination with passing years.

During the twenty-two days intervening between the adjournment of the convention and the appointed three-days' election there was unusual bustle and activity among the host of office seekers in the fifteen counties with which the new State of Illinois commenced its promising career. Each county was entitled to a Senator, excepting Johnson and Franklin, which jointly elected one; and to Pope, Crawford, Edwards and Union counties were allotted two Representatives in the House; to Gallatin, White, St. Clair and Madison, three, and to each of the other counties, one. In Jackson county there was then none of the scrambling, wire-pulling and scheming that has preceded general elections there—as well as in other counties—for the last seventy years. Then, the offices literally hunted the men. To Conrad Will was assigned, by right and common agreement, the place of Senator, his pioneer friend, Jesse Griggs, consenting to accompany him as Representative in the Lower House, and they were elected without reference to factions or parties.

The limits of this paper will not permit a detailed review of Mr. Will's career as a legislator in the several years of his official life. It was not brilliant, or distinguished by any special act of marked ability. He was not an orator, or aggressive debater, but was an attentive observer of everything transpiring in the halls of legislation and exercised a watchful care over all matters affecting his county and constituents. Seldom occupying the floor for extended remarks, he accomplished more in gaining support for measures in which he was interested by his genial nature and frank, jovial disposition than by strength of any argument he advanced. Judged by the standard of present political theories, his course as a law-maker was sometimes gravely mistaken, but invariably dictated by honest convictions. At

*Reynolds' *Life and Times*, 1st edition, 1855, p. 210.

any rate, it apparently correctly reflected the general sentiments of the people he represented and met their cordial approval, as his repeated re-elections would indicate.

The first General Assembly of Illinois met at Kaskaskia on the 5th of October, 1818 The principal business it transacted was the election, by joint balloting of the two Houses, of two United States Senators, four Supreme Court Justices, a Treasurer, Auditor and Attorney General. In those elections Senator Will voted with the Bond, Kane and Jones party, and was an enthusiastic supporter of McLean for Congress in opposition to Daniel P. Cook.

In casting lots for division of Senatorial service, Mr. Will drew the short, or two-years term.

After a session of eight days the Legislature adjourned to await final action of Congress upon the admission of Illinois into the Union.

Reassembling on the 4th of January, 1819, the legislators commenced at once, with John Messenger as their Speaker and Thomas Reynolds, Clerk, the earnest work of law making. Senator Will was assiduous in his daily attendance and close application to every duty of his position. While he originated no important measure, he gave his vote and influence for the principal legislation placed upon the statute book at that session, including adoption of the "code," with the laws "concerning negroes and mulattoes," raising revenue for support of the State by taxing lands of non-residents; providing for leasing the Ohio and Gallatin county salines; fixing the salaries of the Governor and Supreme Court Justices at $1,000 each annually, of the Auditor at $700, Secretary of State at $600, State Treasurer, $500, Attorney General, $250, and Circuit Attorneys, $150; also providing the penalty for certain specified offenses by the whipping post and confinement in the stocks and pillory, and that of death for the crimes of murder, rape, horse stealing and arson. Mr. Will very reluctantly voted for the bill passed at that session for fixing the State Capital, for the next twenty years, at Reeve's Bluff, on which Vandalia was thereafter built. United States Senator Edwards, having drawn the short term, expiring on March 3d, 1820, it was incumbent upon this session of the Legislature to elect his successor, and in the election for that purpose Governor Edwards was re-elected by 15 majority, Mr. Will voting for Michael Jones, his opponent. After 87 days in session the first Legislature adjourned on March 31st, 1819.

When Conrad Will was elected Senator in 1818, he promised to relinquish the place, after the first term, to his friend, William Boon, a Kentuckian, and one of the earliest pioneers of the Big Muddy region. In accordance with that agreement, at the general election in 1820 Mr. Boon was elected Senator, and Conrad Will, yielding to the wishes of the people, was elected to represent Jackson county in the House.

When the second Legislature met at Vandalia on Dec. 4th, 1820, the House was organized by election of John McLean for Speaker, and Thomas Reynolds, Clerk. Mr. Will was assigned to the Committee on Propositions and Grievances.

As Mr. Will's statesmanship began to materialize with experience, the suspicion gained strength that when a busy country doctor in the

backwoods of Pennsylvania he had devoted attention enough to public affairs, then discussed by the people, to range himself with the Nicholas Biddle party favorable to the National banking system. For upon first introduction of the bill to establish an Illinois State bank, Conrad Will was on his feet, one of the first and most ardent supporters of the measure. The bill provided for a main bank with several branches, founded wholly on the State's credit, to issue bills bearing 2 per cent interest per annum, to be loaned to the people in sums of not less than $100 on personal security.

In vain was the strenuous opposition, led by John McLean, who resigned the Speakership to take the floor, and, in a speech of matchless eloquence and power, pointed out the utter folly of the scheme, and the heavy loss it would, if enacted, inevitably entail upon the State. Championed by Hon. Richard M. Young, of Union county, Conrad Will, his neighbor, and others, it was passed. It was promptly returned by the Council of Revision (the Governor and four Supreme Justices) with its objections; but the cohorts led by Young and Will again passed it over the veto by the constitutional majority.

The chief bank was located at Vandalia, and the influence of Mr. Will secured one of the branches at Brownsville, the other two branch banks being placed at Shawneetown and Edwardsville. Mr. Will was still a Representative in the Legislature when, in less than five years, he witnessed the verification of John McLean's prediction, the wretched collapse of the wild-cat banking project, and a loss to the State of $300,000.

On Jan. 10th, 1821, Mr. Will voted for Blackwell's resolutions censuring Senators Thomas and Edwards for "voting against the restriction of slavery in Missouri," and calling upon them to resign their seats in the United States States Senate for so doing; and on the 2d of February he voted for a resolution calling a convention to amend the constitution, or make a new one. On the same day he voted for the re-election of John McLean as Speaker of the House, introduced a bill to "divorce Thos. Morrow from Letticy, his wife," voted for an "An act for the relief of the poor," and against a bill "to incorporate the Sangamon Milling Company." On Feb. 8th he voted for a resolution requesting the general government to receive the issue of the Illinois State Bank at the local land offices for the entry of land. He voted against a bill exempting ministers of the gospel from working on the roads, and in favor of fixing the rate of taxation at one-third of 1 per cent.

His aim as a representative seemed to be to subordinate political questions to matters of utility; and he gave particular attention to all measures pertaining to roads, bridges and other improvements contributing to the convenience and welfare of the settlers.

At the August election in 1822 the people of Jackson county again chose him to represent them in the House, and he served through that session of the Legislature made memorable in our annals for precipitating the civil contest that resulted in consecrating Illinois to freedom forever.

Wm. H. Alexander—for whom Alexander county was named—was elected Speaker, and Charles Dunn, Clerk. Mr. Will was placed on the Finance Committee.

The Third General Assembly met at Vandalia on Dec. 2d, 1822, and on the 9th Mr. Will voted in the contested case of Shaw against Hansen, from Pike county, in favor of Nicholas Hansen retaining the seat for which he had the certificate of election.

On December 18th Mr. Will was appointed one of a special committee "to enquire into the situation of the State Banks, &c." its precarious condition rendering such a step already necessary. On the 21st Mr. Will—who was not an admirer or supporter of Gov. Coles—"from the minority of the committee to which was referred that part of the Governor's message relating to the prohibition of slavery, and the prevention of kidnaping, asked leave to report, and on leave being given, he reported unfavorably on that part of the message which recommends the entire prohibition of slavery, and favorably on the other part referred (kidnaping)," accompanied by some resolutions. Mr. Mather moved that the House concur in the said resolutions. Mr. Hansen moved to amend said motion, by laying the report and resolutions on the table, and having 200 copies thereof printed for use of the House."* Carried.

Mr. Will voted, on Jan. 6th, 1823, against the Senate bill exempting Quakers, Dunkards, &c, from performing militia duty; and for the bill compelling employes of the State to take bills of the State bank for their salaries. He voted for Mr. Hansen's bill to "Regulate Physicians," which was passed. That law divided the State into five districts, the physicians in each to meet annually and elect one of their number a "Censor;" and the five Censors met periodically at the State capitol "to examine those who may wish to practice *physic* in this State, and grant license to such as they may find properly qualified." His vote is recorded for a bill to authorize Wm. Morrison and Elisha Hickcox to build a toll bridge across the Kaskaskia river, and for an act to encourage the destruction of wolves. At the joint election of the two houses, on January 9th, he voted for the re-election of Senator Jesse B. Thomas, when twenty-nine votes were cast for Thomas, sixteen for John Reynolds, six for Leonard White, and two for Judge Samuel D. Lockwood.

Mr. Will was one of a special committee to whom "was referred the petition for divorce of John H. C. Wageman and Catherine his wife." By the aid of Mr. Will's vote, on Jan. 28th, 1823, the resolution he voted for on Dec. 9th, 1822, declaring Nicholas Hansen to be the legally elected representative of Pike county, was reconsidered, Hansen was ousted and his seat given to John Shaw. Next day Mr. Will's vote is recorded for the resolution, passed by Shaw's vote, calling a convention to amend the Constitution for the purpose of perpetuating slavery in Illinois. Senator Boon, of Jackson county, also voted for that resolution. In that action, be it said to their credit, they correctly represented their constituents, as, at the election on the 2d of August, 1824, for an expression of the people of the State upon the question of ratifying that call, Jackson county gave 180

* House Journal of Third General Assembly, 1822-23.

votes in favor of it and 93 against it. Mr. Will assisted Mrs. Eulalia Goforth to obtain, by special act of the Legislature on Feb. 10th, 1823, a divorce from her husband, Dr. Wm. G. Goforth, of Cahokia. Mrs. Goforth was a daughter of John Hay, an early Illinois pioneer who for many years held all the civil offices of St. Clair county but those of sheriff and post master.

Among other measures receiving Mr. Will's support, was an act to prevent the selling of spirituous liquors to Indians in this State; also forbidding tavern keepers, grocers and retailers to sell to any one liquor in larger quantity than one pint. He also gave his assent to a bill "for the benefit of the lessees of the Gallatin county saline;" one to authorize Joseph Trotier to build a toll bridge across Cahokia creek, and another "to provide for improvement of the internal navigation of this State."

On March 31 a bill "for the relief of Conrad Will," was considered in committee of the whole, reported favorably and finally passed by both houses. It allowed him the sum of $2,200 for "permanent improvements" he had made at the Big Muddy saline, of which $1,200 was for certain kettles employed there in the production of salt.*

Not only in modern times, it seems, have our lawmakers been accused of "graft" and other evil practices, for as early as Feb. 17, 1823, the House resolved "that the editors of the Illinois Intelligencer be requested forthwith to inform the House who is the author of a piece that appeared in their last paper, signed A. B., which charged the Legislature with corruption and dishonesty." But no investigation followed; no Comerford was expelled, and no further mention of the matter appears in the journal. Next day, Feb. 18, the Legislature adjourned.

The fourth General Assembly convened at Vandalia on Nov. 15, 1824, when Conrad Will again presented his credentials, took the oath of office and his seat as the representative of Jackson county in the House. Thomas Mather was elected Speaker and Charles Dunn re-elected clerk. Mr. Will was assigned to the standing committee on militia. In the Senate Jackson county was represented by Joseph Duncan, then 30 years of age, who had recently been appointed, by Governor Coles, Major General of the Illinois militia in recognition of his gallant military services at the defense of Fort Stephenson on Aug. 2, 1813.

The long and fierce campaign for popular endorsement of the convention call had closed at the election in August with defeat of the convention scheme by the vote of 4972 for and 6640 against it. However, the bitter personal antagonisms and animosities engendered by that extraordinary contest were quickly reconciled, and when the legislators met in November, no trace of ill feeling marred their deliberations.

At the presidential election in November, 1824, the people of Illinois gave John Quincy Adams 1,541 votes, Andrew Jackson 1,273, Henry Clay 1,047, and William H. Crawford 218, Mr. Will being then a supporter of Jackson.

* That act was probably in liquidation of rent due the State for the Big Muddy saline.

The most important legislation of the fourth General Assembly was election of senators and revision of the judiciary system of the state. Governor Edwards had resigned his seat in the United States senate to accept the appointment, from President Monroe, of minister to Mexico; and to fill that vacancy an election was held in joint session on November 23, when John McLean was chosen, receiving 31 votes to 19 for Edwards and 2 for Pope, Mr. Will voting for McLean. For the long term an election was held on November 30, resulting in the election, on the tenth ballot, of Elias K. Kane, with 28 votes, Judge Lockwood receiving 21. Mr. Sloo 2, and Governor Coles 1, Mr. Will steadfastly supporting Mr. Kane.

In political complexion the fourth Legislature was more pronounced in opposition to slavery than the third had been in its favor; but yet elected to the U. S. Senate two of the ablest and most aggressive leaders of the slavery party in the late convention contest. Such was also the case in its reorganization of the courts, electing a chief justice and three associate justices of the supreme court, and five circuit judges, seven of the nine having been active advocates of the convention scheme.

Early in the session Mr. Will, who was always eager to promote the cause of education, was placed on the special committee to which was referred that part of the Governor's message relating to public schools and seminary lands. Later he was instrumental in carrying through the House Senator Duncan's bill for establishing common schools. He was a member of the special committee to which was referred the bill making an appropriation for building a new State house at Vandalia. Having, at the last session, shrewdly induced the State to "help him let go" of the Big Muddy salt works that had become quite a drain upon his finances, he introduced on Nov. 25, and caused to be passed, a bill "authorizing the Governor to lease that saline to James Pearce on conditions mentioned therein."

In April, 1825, Mr. Will was one of the first of the State officials at Kaskaskia to meet General Lafayette, who had come to visit Illinois in response to an invitation of the third Legislature and accompanied him to Vandalia. And later voted for the appropriation of $6,473.00 to defray the expenses of entertaining the distinguished guest.

In the intervals between sessions of the Legislature Conrad Will was generally the busiest man in Jackson county, assisting his partner son-in-law in the practice of medicine and attending to his many business interests, with frequent deer hunts and fox chases, and probably some electioneering also. Relief for a time from the salt works incubus increased his prosperity, but brought no leisure or relaxation in the strenuous life he led.

The great surprise of the general election held on the 7th of August, 1826, was the defeat of Daniel P. Cook for Congress by Joseph Duncan by the vote of 6,323 for Duncan, 5,629 for Cook and 824 for James Turney. At the same time Ninian Edwards was elected Governor to succeed Coles by a small majority over Thomas Sloo and Lieutenant Governor Hubbard. At that election polls were opened for the first time in Chicago, where thirty votes were cast, all for Ed-

wards and Cook. At that election, too, Conrad Will was again chosen to represent Jackson county in the lower house of the Legislature and took his seat in the Fifth General Assembly when it came together at Vandalia on the 4th of December, 1826. John McLean was again selected to preside over the House as speaker, with W. L. D. Ewing as clerk. Mr. Will was appointed a member of the Internal Improvement Committee.

The chief measures of that session were the abolition of the whipping post and pillory for punishing misdemeanors and petty crimes; providing, by bill presented by John Reynolds, for establishing a penitentiary; and a thorough revision of the laws, submitted by the supreme court justices, and adopted with but little alteration by both Houses.

Among the prominent senators in the Fifth Legislature were W. B. Archer, Thomas Carlin, Joseph Duncan, Zadok Casey and Archibald Job, the latter representing a district comprising Pike, Adams, Schuyler, Fulton, Morgan and Peoria counties. In the House with Mr. Will were Alfred W. Caverly, Alexander P. Field, Job Fletcher, Robert K. McLaughlin (Joseph Duncan's uncle), Henry I. Mills, John McLean, John Reynolds and his brother Tom.

The expense of entertaining General Lafayette, together with the cost of taking the census, and of the adjourned session, and salaries of five circuit judges, not only drained the State treasury but caused a deficit of over $40,000.00. A public debt of that magnitude seriously alarmed the people. The State bank was tottering on the brink of collapse and there was no sound money in the State. The people demanded retrenchment in public expenditures, and upon that platform the Fifth General Assembly was elected.

To redeem their pledges and inaugurate an administration of economy, the legislators repealed the five circuit judges out of office, and also repealed Duncan's public school law and Hamilton's road law; but retained their own pay at $3 per day.

The Legislature adjourned on Feb. 19th, 1827, and on that day Joseph Duncan resigned his seat in the State Senate to commence his duties in Congress.

The noted "Winnebago War," or "Scare," in the spring of 1827, that for a short time stirred the settlers of the northern half of the State with wild alarm, was probably not heard of in Jackson county until it was all over.

The next political campaign—that of 1828—commenced immediately after the Legislature adjourned in 1827. The star of General Jackson was in the ascendency, and political parties based upon questions of national policy were beginning to be distinctly defined. The supporters of Jackson—who claimed he was defrauded of the presidency in 1825, by machinations of the Adams-Yankee Abolitionists—styled themselves "Democratic Republicans," and classed all opposed to Jackson as "Federalists," changed a little later to "Whigs."

All through the political campaign that terminated with the August election of 1828, the interest and excitement of the people in Illinois were almost equal to that of the convention contest of 1824. Joseph

Duncan was re-elected to Congress, defeating George Forquer by over 4,000, and Conrad Will, another Jackson man, was elected to represent Jackson, Franklin and Perry counties in the Senate.

The Sixth General Assembly met on Dec. 1st, 1828. William Kinney, the Lieutenant Governor, formerly a Baptist preacher, presided over the Senate, with Emanuel J. West its secretary. Promoted to the higher chamber, Mr. Will, made a member of the Committee on Elections, found himself a colleague of W. B. Archer, Thomas Carlin, Risdon Moore, Jr., Zadok Casey, Timothy Gard, Archibald Job, Wickliffe Kitchell, Robert K. McLaughlin and Samuel McRoberts. In the House were Peter Cartwright, John Dement, Alexander P. Field, Thomas Mather, John McLean, Hypolite Menard and John Reynolds. For the third time John McLean was elected Speaker and W. L. D. Ewing was re-elected Clerk.

The first act of importance of the Sixth Legislature was to choose a successor to Hon. Jesse B. Thomas, United States Senator, whose term expired on March 3d, 1829, and who declined to be a candidate for re-election. In joint session John McLean was elected to supply that succession unanimously and by acclamation—the only instance of the election of a United States Senator without opposition in the history of our State. The gifted recipient of that rare honor lived, however, to serve but one session of his six years' term, and died, at his home in Shawneetown, on the 14th of October, 1830, aged 39 years.

The dread of taxation haunting the people impelled the Sixth General Assembly to adopt the wretched expedient of selling the lands donated to Illinois for promotion of education, and borrowing the proceeds of such sales to defray current expenses of the State government, thereby entailing a perpetual debt upon future taxpayers.

At that session a Fifth Judicial Circuit was formed and Richard M. Young appointed its Judge. A law was also passed providing for three commissioners to fix the route of the Illinois and Michigan canal, and to select the alternate sections of land donated by Congress to aid in its construction. The three commissioners appointed were Charles Dunn, Gershom Jayne and Edmond Roberts. The Legislature adjourned Jan 23d, 1829, and immediately thereafter Governor Edwards appointed Alexander P. Field Secretary of State.

Before leaving Vandalia, John Reynolds, a "milk and cider" follower of Jackson, announced himself a candidate for Governor to succeed Edwards, and by the time the bluebirds and larks heralded approach of early spring in 1829 another extraordinary political campaign began and continued with augmenting vehemence until the August election in 1830. Lieutenant Governor Kinney, an original "whole-hog" Jackson man, attended the inauguration of President Jackson, at Washington, and on his return entered the lists with the "Old Ranger." An array of candidates for the many other offices joined in and for sixteen months the people were kept in a ferment of hilarious excitement.

The election day at length came and passed. Reynolds was elected, receiving 12,937 to 9,038 votes for Kinney. Joseph Duncan was again

re-elected to Congress, the number of votes for him being 13,032, for Sidney Breese, then an Adams man, 4,659, and for ex-Governor Coles, anti-Jackson, 3,397.

Joseph Duncan, with his brother, Dr. John A. Duncan, his sister, Polly Ann, his mother, Mrs. Moore, and her son, Ben Moore, and a lot of negro slaves, came from Kentucky in 1818 and settled at Fountain Bluff on the western edge of Jackson county. Joseph Duncan married a very wealthy young lady and built at the foot of the bluff the finest residence in all that country, which was known far and wide as the "white house" as long as it stood. Having several children to educate, he moved to Jacksonville in Morgan county, in 1830, for convenient access to Illinois college, established there two years before.

The seventh assembly began its session at Vandalia on the 6th of December, 1830, with the new lieutenant governor, Zadok Casey, a Methodist minister, presiding in the Senate, in place of Kinney, with Jesse B. Thomas, Jr., as secretary. Mr. Will, a hold-over member, was placed on the standing committee on Roads and Canals. John Grammar, Elijah Iles and Adam W. Snyder were new members of the Senate. Newton Cloud, John Dawson, W. L. D. Ewing, Wm. J. Gatewood and John D. Whiteside were among the new members in the House. W. L. D. Ewing was elected Speaker and David Prickett clerk.

Two personal friends of Senator Will were elected to the U. S. Senate; E. K. Kane, to succeed himself, and John M. Robinson of White county, on the fifth ballot, to fill out the unexpired term of John McLean, by 34 votes to 15 for Thomas Mather.

Comparatively few measures of importance were enacted by the seventh General Assembly. There was one, however, that proved disastrous to the future political aspirations of several members who voted for it. It was a law authorizing the State to borrow $100,000.00 to redeem the circulation of the broken State bank, established in 1821. It was for years known as the "Wiggins Loan," and was a nightmare to a large majority of tax payers, who were certain that such an enormous sum could never be repaid, and accused the legislators of selling the State outwright to Wiggins, a capitalist of Cincinnati. Conrad Will, whose term expired with that session, boldly voted for the loan, and was one of the few senators sustained by his constituents after having candidly explained to them that, under the circumstances, it was the best course to pursue. The criminal laws were adjusted to conform with the newly established mode of punishment by confinement in the State prison; and a new apportionment was made on the basis of the census of 1830, increasing the number of senators to 26, and representatives to 55, and dividing the State into three congressional districts—the entire State theretofore forming but one. The session then adjourned on February 16, 1831, in the "winter of the deep snow," several of the representatives not being able to reach their home until in the milder weather of spring.

Black Hawk, with his band, invaded the State at Rock Island in April, 1831, but promptly met by 1,900 volunteers under Gen. Joseph

Duncan, and 600 regulars, he retired to the west side of the Mississippi without bloodshed. Again he came, in April, 1832, with 400 warriors and their women and children, when followed the so-called "war," involving, within three months, the enlistment of 8,000 volunteers to coöperate with 1,500 regular U. S. troops, and resulting in final expulsion of the Indians, with the loss of 2,000 human lives, at an expense to the general government of $2,000,000.00. Its management was an unmitigated disgrace to Illinois, but it furnished electioneering capital to many demagogues engaged in it, for several years.

The State election on the 6th of August, 1832, closed a political campaign as interesting, if not as novel and exciting, as the chase of Black Hawk and his half naked Sacs and Foxes. In the Jacksonville district, Joseph Duncan was for the fourth time elected to Congress as a "whole hog" Jacksonian Democrat. In the Second district Zadok Casey was elected, and in the first district Charles Slade defeated Governor Edwards, and others, for Congress, the returns showing 2470 votes for Slade, 2078 for Edwards, 1670 for Sidney Breese (who had turned over to the Jackson party), 1020 for Dunn, and 551 for Webb. Four days later, Aug. 10th, Hon. David J. Baker, writing a letter of condolence to his friend, Governor Edwards, said: "I found most of the men in Jackson and Union, whom Ninian supposed *for* you, taking part against you. Griggs, Kinard, Connor, and even Creath, voted against you. As old Will in his county carried all before him, he carried all against you. * * * * * * Old Will is very hostile to you; he is, I doubt not, elected."* That defeat permanently retired Governor Edwards from public life.

In the Senatorial district composed of Franklin, Jackson and Washington counties Mr. Will was overwhelmingly elected to the Senate as a Whig, having left the Jackson party because of its opposition to a National Bank and to the policy of internal improvements by the general government, both of which he favored. At the November election, 1832, President Jackson was re-elected by a tremendous majority. In the Eighth Legislature that met at Vandalia on Dec. 3d, 1832, Mr. Will was assigned, very appropriately, to the standing committee on salines, as he had recently resumed charge and ownership of the Big Muddy salt works, Mr. Pearce having failed and surrendered his lease.

In the Senate Wm. L. D. Ewing was elected presiding officer in the place of Zadok Casey elected to Congress, and in the House Alexander M. Jenkins was made speaker and David Prickett clerk for the second time. Old members preponderated in the Senate, but in the House many new faces appeared, namely: Stinson H. Anderson, Robert Blackwell, Peter Cartwright, John Dougherty, Cyrus Edwards, John C. Goudy, Samuel Hackelton, Michael Jones, Murray McConnel, James Semple and John T. Stuart.

Much of the session was consumed in passing acts of incorporation of towns, canals, colleges, libraries and railroads. These charters cost nothing and few, if any, of them were ever utilized, but they plainly indicated the progress of the State and what the people would

* Edwards Papers, 1884, pp. 598-600.

have done if they could. Governor Reynolds, in his message, recommended the connection of Lake Michigan and the Illinois river by railroad in preference to a canal, and accordingly such a railroad was chartered; also one across the State through Springfield, and another, to be known as the Illinois Central, from Peru to Cairo. The legislative proceeding of the session, however, attracting the greatest attention was the impeachment of Judge Theophilus W. Smith, one of the supreme court justices, for oppression, corruption and other malfeasance in office. He was vigorously prosecuted by Benjamin Mills, James Semple, John Dougherty, Murray McConnell and John T. Stuart, and defended with signal ability by Sidney Breese, Thomas Ford and Richard M. Young. The trial, before the Senate as the jury, continued from Jan. 9 to Feb. 7, 1833, resulting in negative acquittal, less than the necessary two-thirds voting for conviction. As one of the jurors, Conrad Will favored the judge's acquittal. At that session the first law providing for a mechanics lien was passed, and also the first law for securing the right of way for roads, canals, etc., by condemnation proceedings. The Legislature adjourned on the 2nd day of March, the beginning of spring, and the rural lawmakers gladly hurried to their farms to get their plows and harrows in order and repair their brush fences.

Conrad Will had left his double log-cabin some time before, and become a resident of historic Brownsville, where he had built a plain, but roomy and commodious, dwelling; yet he was still a farmer, as well as physician, merchant, miller, tanner and salt maker, and his numerous fences—of brush, rail, finances or politics—required his constant personal attention.

Brownsville, from its very commencement, was a flourishing town, attracting the trade and business of an extensive scope of surrounding country. In the first General Assembly, Mr. Will secured passage of an act by which it was duly incorporated in March, 1819. Jesse Griggs, John Aukeny, James S. Dorris, Dr. Matthew Taylor and W. D. Ferquay constituted its first board of trustees. W. Wilson was elected recorder, and Alexander M. Jenkins its first constable. As early as 1817, James Harreld, Conrad Will, J. S. Dorris and S. H. Kimmel had stores of general merchandise there. In 1821, James Hall, Jr., built a distillery in Brownsville, where—unhampered by restrictive internal revenue laws—he converted sod corn into whiskey which had the merit, at least, of cheapness and freedom from deleterious adulterations. As an antidote to the pernicious social influence of the distillery, a substantial house was erected for the free use of itinerant school teachers and preachers who occasionally ventured that far in the western wilderness. The branch of the State Bank located there in 1821 was another addition that gave the town an immense boom and metropolitan distinction.

For several years Brownsville did a large shipping and receiving business by flatboat transportation, sending off to distant markets the surplus products of the country, and bringing in groceries, hardware and other needed manufactured goods. From the fine timber near the river flat-bottomed boats forty or fifty feet in length by fifteen in width were cheaply constructed, and economically, though slowly pro-

pelled, and always sold readily at New Orleans or other points, when their cargoes were disposed of, if not needed for the return voyage. Steam was introduced as a motive power for navigation of the Western waters as early as 1811, when the "New Orleans," built at Pittsburg that year, went down to New Orleans. The "General Pike," the pioneer steamboat above the mouth of the Ohio, arrived at St. Louis on August 1, 1817. But steamboats, because of their notorious insecurity and excessive freight charges, were slow in gaining popular confidence and revolutionizing western commercial transportation. The Big Muddy is a very crooked stream and of variable depth, registering forty feet between its highest and lowest water marks; but in its lowest stages there was always sufficient water to float loaded flatboats. In recent times, its navigation by small steamboats was attempted by a coal company and resulted in failure.

In the zenith of its prosperity, Brownsville contained a population of over 500, and ranked as the third town in the State, exceeded in the number of inhabitants and business and political importance only by Shawneetown and Kaskaskia. For years its only mail was brought on horseback weekly from Kaskaskia, then semi-weekly as times improved. Its broad, gently-sloping river front, spacious public square, substantial business houses and handsome residences—some of the latter situated in good taste on the hillside beyond the slough —made it a neat and quite attractive village. Its people were typical of the social conditions existing in the Southern states, from whence the most of them came. They were generally honorable and generous, but not all were distinguished for enterprising industry. The man fond of his gun and dog and always ready to take a drink was there in force. The race of bee-hunters, now almost extinct, was there in its prime. It was the paradise of hunters and fishermen, and the usual public recreations were horse racing and foot races, with occasional rough-and-tumble fights, particularly on election days and the 4th of July.

In the passing of time, however, Jackson county outgrew Brownsville. The town had, in fact, run its course, and, after collapse of the State bank, the death of Mr. Will, and cessation of the salt industry, was very perceptibly in the stage of decadence. Then as settlements spread out over the hills and prairies, the people, feeling the impulse of advancing progress and improvement in the west, became dissatisfied with their county seat. They wanted it moved to a location on higher ground, admitting of limitless lateral and longitudinal expansion, easy of access, and better adapted to the needs of the county. While this matter was being generally discussed, on the night of the 10th of January, 1843, the court house in Brownsville was discovered to be on fire, and the flames spread so rapidly that nothing it contained could be saved. Whether or not it was the work of an incendiary can never be known, but all the public records and papers, but two small books, not then in the building, were lost.

That calamity precipitated the question of rebuilding the court house in Brownsville, or at a more eligible site. Submitted to a vote of the people of the county, on the 1st of August, 1843, they decided

to remove the county seat to Murphysboro, six miles farther east on the river, and there the new court house was built. The county commissioners sold the public property at Brownsville; the merchants and other business men followed the county seat to the new town, and historic Brownsville rapidly sank into extinction. Several of its houses were moved to Murphysboro, a few were burned, and others rotted away. Lot owners were glad to sell them at any price. In time the town plat was vacated, and by 1853 Mr. Richard Worthen, a grandson of Conrad Will, owned the entire site of the deserted village, and converted it into a wheat field. And there at the present day can be seen many little stony mounds and cellar and well depressions, marking where stood the habitations and business houses of the former third largest town in Illinois. Brownsville is now but a memory, only known as one of the numerous dead towns of our State.*

The year 1833 is memorable in the annals of Illinois for the terrible visitation of Asiatic cholera, brought the summer before with the regular troops led by Gen. Winfield Scott from Fortress Monroe to assist our militia in their Indian war. Its most distinguished victim in this State was Gov. Ninian Edwards, who died of the scourge at his home in Belleville, on the 20th of July, 1833, in his 58th year of age.

Another noted event of that year was the startling fall of meteors—known as "the falling stars"—that occurred in the early morning of November 13th. But neither the cholera or meteoric shower dampened the patriotic eagerness of the customary horde of candidates to serve the people in office. Gov. Reynolds, whose term would expire on the 1st of December, 1834, entered the race for Congress in the First district, against Mr. Slade, early in 1833. Mr. Slade died of cholera, on July 11th, 1834, and Reynolds immediately announced himself a candidate for his unexpired term also.

Gen. Joseph Duncan remained at his post in Congress from the fall of 1833 until after the election in August, 1834; but informed the voters of Illinois, through the medium of letters, circulars and newspapers, his willingness to continue in their service as Governor to succeed Reynolds. In 1834 the general election was held in Illinois, as usual, on the first Monday in August. Reynolds was elected to Congress for both the vacancy and the full term. The Jackson Democrats rallied to the support of Duncan with their old-time fidelity and unanimity, and he was triumphantly elected Governor, receiving 17,349 votes to 10,229 for Wm. Kinney, the staunch "whole hog" Jacksonian. But soon, however, the rejoicings of victorious Democrats were turned to indignation and execrations when they learned that Duncan, their Governor-elect, had some time before, gone over to the enemy, and was a radical whig, and had shrewdly suppressed his apostacy until after his election.

Governor Reynolds resigned his office on the 17th of November, 1834, to enter upon his duties as Congressman, when W. L. D. Ewing, by

* For the facts in this description of Brownsville, and for many facts relating to Conrad Will, I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Ed. Worthen, of Murphysboro, and to Mr. Edmund Newsome's "Sketches of Jackson County, Illinois," (second edition), Carbondale, Ill., 1894.

virtue of his presidency of the Senate, not having been elected either to the position of Governor or Lieutenant Governor, became Governor of Illinois and exercised the functions of chief executive for the succeeding fifteen days.

The Ninth General Assembly met at Vandalia on the 1st of December, 1834. On taking his seat in the Senate Mr. Will was greeted by several new members, among whom were A. G. Herndon, W. J. Gatewood, William Thomas, J. W. Stephenson and John S. Hacker. In the House, Jesse K. Dubois, Milton Carpenter, Jesse B.Thomas, Jr., Abraham Lincoln and Orlando B. Ficklin appeared for the first time. Alexander M. Jenkins, the recently elected Lieutenant Governor, presided over the Senate, with Leonard White as Secretary. In the House James Semple was chosen Speaker, and David Prickett, Clerk for the third time.

Preliminary to the routine work of the session, the two houses met to elect a successor to Hon. John M. Robinson in the United States Senate, and he was chosen to succeed himself, with 47 votes to 30 for Richard M. Young and 4 for Wm. B. Archer.

The distinguishing act of that session was the bill* introduced in the Senate by Conrad Will, chartering a new Illinois State bank with six branches, and capital of $1,500,000 to be raised by supscription, and increased, if deemed necessary in the future, by $1,000,000 more, reserving to the State the option of subscribing for $100,000 of the capital stock. The bill also provided for "extending for a limited time," the charter of the old Shawneetown branch bank, that failed several years before, with capital of $300,000. This measure was by no means popular, for since the failure of the first State bank, a large majority of the people regarded all banks with disfavor and suspicion. But the bill passed both houses—Gov. Ford says, by means of the most unblushing corruption—and became a law, but Mr. Will failed to secure one of the branches at Brownsville, as he had done before.

No demand had been made by the people for re-establishing a State bank; the business interests of the State did not require it. It was instigated by schemers and speculators, and was the beginning of a series of ill-judged acts of legislation that proved in their ultimate consequences, disastrous to the State and the people.

A law was passed for distribution of the school fund, and the legislature authorized the Governor to borrow $500,000 to be applied to the construction of the Illinois and Michigan canal, securing the loan by a lien on the canal lands and town lots.

At that session the Normal school was introduced for the first time in our State legislation in a resolution offered by Senator Gatewood, "to memorialize Congress to grant to Illinois a reasonable quantity of land, or a portion of proceeds of the sale thereof, for the purpose of supporting seminaries to qualify teachers, etc., "which, on motion of Senator Snyder, was laid on the table, and 10,000 copies, with Senator Gatewood's report on education, ordered to be printed.

Near the close of the session, Senator Will—as his last legislative act, and perhaps "just for fun"—offered the following resolution:

*Ford says this bill was written by Theophilus W. Smith, Justice of the Supreme Court.

"*Resolved*, That the committee on Finance be instructed to inquire into the expediency of taxing all bachelors over the age of 24 years, and that they have leave to report by bill or otherwise." By way of retaliation, Senator Thomas of Morgan moved that the resolution "be laid on the table until the next Fourth of July," and his motion was carried. The specific act of Mr. Will's that instigated this retaliation occurred on January 10, 1827, in the fifth Assembly, when Mr. Blackwell moved, "That a select committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of imposing a capitation tax upon all unmarried male persons over twenty-five years of age, to report by bill or otherwise," which was fully discussed in committee of the whole without definite conclusion. Whereupon Mr. Will moved that further consideration of the matter be postponed until next Fourth of July—a witticism he originated early in his public service to dispose of delicate or troublesome questions—and his motion was adopted.

The Ninth General Assembly adjourned, the Senate journal states, "after an impressive prayer by Rev. Mr. Hunter," on February 13, 1835.

Vandalia at that era had gained considerable celebrity. It was the focus from which radiated all political influence throughout the State, and the Mecca to which all State politicians made periodical pilgrimages, and was visited by all noted strangers traveling in the West. It was the meeting place of the best scholars and finest minds of the State, to whom Illinois is indebted for the first impulses of its literary and intellectual progress.

When the legislature was in session, and prominent men of every county of the State, many of them accompanied by their wives and daughters, had collected there, the grave problems of statesmanship or intricate party schemes, were lightened and enlivened by all the charms and enjoyments of social life. After close of the day's business some joined in the dance, or elegant card parties with the ladies; and others congregating together, here and there, passed the long evenings in social or political talk and discussions, while still others sought more convivial pastime, for few men in those days were total abstainers from the cup that cheers—and sometimes inebriates. Mr. Will was neither a dancer nor a drinker, but fond of society, particularly that of young people, to whose entertainment he always added largely by his exuberant spirits and ready wit. He felt quite an attachment for Vandalia because of his many protracted visits and pleasant associations there, but was always glad when the time came for his return to the Big Muddy.

To Mr. Will—as is the case with all old office holders—public life had become very fascinating. He was proud of the conspicuous station he occupied in the State's affairs, fully appreciating its duties and responsibilities, and, no doubt, aspired to something higher than that he had attained. For the large constituency, whose confidence he retained implicitly, he was an industrious and faithful representative; but his inordinate propensity for levity and jesting, tended to impair the dignity and efficiency of his official labors.

In his usual robust health, Mr. Will returned to his home after the adjournment of the ninth legislature, and was soon immersed in his

multifarious business pursuits. The spring was "backward" with much cold rain and disagreeable weather; but to that he paid little attention, and continued his professional and other work with unabated energy through the months of March, April and May. Early in June he was suddenly prostrated with sickness, the precise nature of which cannot now be ascertained. At first no danger was apprehended, as his strong constitution was relied on to quickly overcome the inroads of any ordinary malady; but with the assiduous attention of his physicians and unremitting care of his family, his condition grew worse, and declining steadily, he died on the 11th of June, 1835, when in the very prime of life, at the age of 56 years and 8 days. He was buried in the graveyard near Brownsville.

His many enterprises and benefactions and public services had earned for him the title of "Father of Jackson County," and all Jackson county united in mourning his death. He was also regarded as the patriarch of the General Assembly, having for eighteen years served as a member in every session after assisting in framing the first State Constitution. During his legislative career the State's population increased from 34,620 in 1818 to 270,000 in 1835, and the fifteen counties into which Illinois was divided when admitted into the Union had grown in number to seventy-three in 1835—the additional forty-eight he had been largely instrumental in forming. At the time of his death he was personally acquainted with every public man of any note in the State; and though political antagonisms had engendered some mutual animosities, he had nowhere a personal enemy. With time and observation some of his views were very materially changed. At the time he withdrew his allegiance from Jackson he also renounced the principles that actuated him in voting to oust Hansen, and in scheming to subvert the Constitution he had helped to make; and thence on to his death, was firmly opposed to slavery.

Mr. Will's wife and three daughters, all born in Somerset county, Pennsylvania, comprised all of his immediate family, and all four survived him. Elizabeth became the wife of Bennington Boon, who enjoyed the distinction of being the first white child born within the territory later organized into Jackson county. Julia was united in marriage to John Bowers, and Mary married William Worthen. Bowers was a farmer; Worthen learned the tanning trade in the Will tannery, and afterwards devoted his life to farming, and Boon studied medicine with Dr. Will, with whom he was associated as partner for several years in the practice of medicine. All three of the daughters are buried within a few miles of the site of Brownsville. Mrs. Will lived until 1857, and is buried on the Dan. Worthen farm, two miles east of the village of Sand Ridge, in Jackson county.

On the 7th of December, 1835, the ninth General Assembly met in special session to re-apportion the State in accordance with the census taken that year, and for other legislation. On the first day of the session Senator Snyder, of St. Clair county, offered the following preamble and resolution:

"It having been announced to the Senate that since its last adjournment Hon. Conrad Will, Senator from the counties of Jackson, Franklin and Washington, has departed this life, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the members of the Senate, in testimony of the respect which they entertain for his memory, will wear crape on the left arm for thirty days," which was unanimously adopted.

Another and more enduring testimonial of the respect entertained by the people of Illinois for the memory of Conrad Will and their appreciation of his long and valuable services to the State was enacted at the same session of the Legislature, on the 12th of January, 1836, establishing, from the lower part of Cook county, a new county, to which was given the name, Will, in his honor.

PART IV.

IN MEMORIAM

Members of the Illinois State Historical Society

Deceased

JANUARY 1904—JANUARY 1905.

CHRISTOPHER C. BROWN.

IN MEMORIAM

CHRISTOPHER C. BROWN, 1834-1904.

(By George N. Black.)

We can not but feel sad when we realize that another of our steadfast members has been stricken down by the hand of death. Between the departed brother and myself there had long existed the closest bonds of friendship. It is therefore fitting that I should add my tribute of respect to his memory. Eulogy of the dead is the consecrated duty and privilege of the living. Our tribute is not rendered in obedience to the cold and stately dictates of fashion. It has its source in the deepest sympathies of the human heart. For it is right and proper to tell the world the worth of those whom we lament.

In the removal of our departed friend we have another lesson on the uncertainty of life and the certainty of death; and yet, though these lessons come to us so often we dislike to be taught by them, and therefore put the certain as far away as possible, as if that would keep it from coming back to us. It is a lesson taught by the proverbial philosophies of the world, as well as by the hard facts of experience. We all remember the words of brave Horatius, as he kept the bridge—

> "To every man upon this earth
> Death cometh soon or late."
>
> —Macaulay.

And that other poet, nearer our own day, who shows the uncertainty of time and place, saying—

> "We know that moons shall wax and wane,
> And summer birds from far shall cross the sea;
> But who can tell us when we'll meet with death."

The time may be uncertain, but "Death spares neither king nor beggar." Knowing this, we may well ask, in the pathetic words of William Knox, "O why should the spirit of mortal be proud?" The word of God tells us that "Here we have no continuing city."

To this community at large the death of Mr. C. C. Brown was a matter of real regret, and to us who knew him best it was an event full of sadness. Those of us who were associated with him so long mourn his loss with the deepest sorrow and regret, for he had won a place in many hearts. He was a member of a family which has long been prominent in the history of Sangamon county; and they have always been men of character, ability and true social worth. We may

call Mr. Brown a representative man, a son of the soil, because he was born in the State. He came to Springfield early in life. He grew up with the growth of the city, and was identified with its greatness. He was a man of the highest integrity, unblemished morals, and of the noblest distinction in the line of duty. He was a man of kindly impulses, and always ready to aid the unfortunate. He was a helper of the helpless, and a giver of strength to those who had no strength. He always had a kind word and a helping hand for those who needed them. Like Abou Ben Adhem he was "One who loved his fellow-men."

Our departed brother has gone hence to return no more forever; but the memory of his good words and kindly deeds will long survive, embalmed in the hearts of those who knew him and appreciated his worth. Few people realize how much good he did in his quiet way. For as old George Herbert quaintly remarks, "Good words are worth much and cost little." His was the charity that shuns publicity and which follows our Lord's well remembered injunction, and "doeth its alms in secret," not desiring to be seen of men. It will be readily understood that of the best portion of a good man's life, his little, nameless, unremembered acts of kindness and of love, are those that are worth most. No record of them is kept, except on high, or in the grateful hearts of those who have been benefited and relieved. The world knows little or nothing of them now, but the record will be revealed hereafter, when the plaudit comes, "What ye did unto mine, ye did unto me."

One who knew the worth of a dead friend (a friend who was missed and mourned, like ours) has written some very appropriate lines, which may be applied truthfully to our deceased friend—our loved and lost.

"To the last hour, when the last man shall die,
And our race shall cease to be, death never came,
And never will come without affliction.
The dying may be ready to depart,
For sleep and death are one to them, but we
Who love them and are left to mourn, to whom
The place once filled by them is filled no more,
From us a light has gone, the sun seems dark,
A shadow fallen at high-noon. To us
A consternation and a lamentation,
The sorrow of all sorrows shall descend,
And shall with us abide, till in our turn
We follow them, and others mourn for us."

It would seem proper that just here something should be said as to who Mr. Brown was, what he was, and how he became the man he was. He was a member of the hardy Scotch-Irish race drawn from the province of Ulster. Ulster was settled by a colony which went forth from the "land of brown heath and shaggy wood," in search of a new home less bleak than the bare hillsides of western Scotland. They took with them their Scottish characteristics and their Scottish Calvinism to their new home in the north of Ireland, and then to the Western World when they crossed the broad Atlantic. Heredity made Mr. Brown what he was, because "blood will tell."

Mr. Christopher C. Brown was born in the village of Athens, then in Sangamon county, Ill., (though now in Menard county). He was born on October 21st, 1834, and was the son of William Bartlett

Brown and Harriet Lowry Brown. His father and mother with five children, moved from Greensburg, Kentucky, to Athens in November 1833. Prior to this removal to Illinois, William B. Brown's brother-in-law, James D. Allen, had settled at Athens, and engaged in the mercantile business. Mr. C. C. Brown's mother was the daughter of Captain David Allen, who served in the War of 1812, and took an active part in the Indian wars of the "Dark and Bloody Ground." She was born December 17th, 1806, and was married to William B. Brown, on December 31st, 1822, at Greensburg, Kentucky. She died October 7th, 1835, at Athens. It is recorded of her that she had a cultivated mind, an amiable disposition, and, above all, a lovely Christian character. William B. Brown, his father, was born at Greensburg, Kentucky, on February 2d, 1802. About the time of his marriage he entered into partnership with his father, Daniel Brown, who was of Scotch-Irish parentage, born at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in September 1765. He is mentioned in Allen's History of Kentucky, as a man of most exemplary piety and a ruling elder of the Presbyterian church for nearly fifty years. His mother, née Theresa Bartlett, was born at Beverly, Massachusetts, on January 14th, 1782. She was a near relative of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Findley, President of Princeton College, and an eminent scholar and great divine in his day.

Soon after his mother's death, which took place, in 1835, the child Christopher, at the earnest solicitation of his uncle, Daniel C. Brown, who was married and childless, was taken to Kentucky by his father, and placed in the uncle's care. When the uncle died in 1840, the child was sent to live at Greensburg, with his grandparents. While living with them, before he was ten years of age, he spent two winters at Hodgenville, Kentucky, where he boarded with an aunt. When at Greensburg, he attended the school known as "The Seminary." Early in 1844 his grandfather being quite old, after a consultation of the relatives, it was thought best to send him home to his father in Illinois. In June of that year he started from Greensburg for Louisville in a covered wagon. At Louisville he took a steamboat for St. Louis, Missouri, and sailed upon the same river which Dickens, two years earlier, thought so monotonous and so wearisome. In writing of this trip, the lad says he had never seen a steamboat till then, and he was charmed with his journey. He stopped at "Barnum's," the leading hotel of that day. (St. Louis had only about 40,000 inhabitants then; but was regarded as the "Great City" of the West.) He took a steamboat to Meredosia, Illinois, and reached that place late in the evening. He had to ride in a skiff to the hotel, and had to enter it through a second story window because the river was in high flood. He says that he was greatly disappointed when the landlord told him that he had nothing for supper but cocoanut milk He drank a cup full of it, and went to bed with the water washing all sides of the hotel. From Meredosia to Jacksonville he was hauled in a wagon drawn by a mule team, over wooden ties, and from there to Springfield in a two horse wagon. On his arrival at Springfield, he was taken to the residence of a relative, Colonel Robert Allen, and there met his brother Daniel, who was attending school at

that place. His father was living at Sangamontown, seven miles northwest of Springfield. He was superintending a flour mill, which was run by water and steam power; he had also a lathing mill, which was managed by his two sons, Daniel and David. In it they sawed all the lath used in building the first State house at Springfield, now the Sangamon county court house. On account of the high water in Spring creek, it was some days before he could reach his father's house. He describes his father at that time as being six feet in height, weighing about two hundred pounds, and having hair as white as the driven snow. He was forty-two years of age, and was known in the neighborhood as "Squire Brown." When any one was sick in the vicinity he was sent for as a doctor; if the patient died Mr. Brown was the person to see that the dead was properly buried. If any legal difficulty arose in the neighborhood he was consulted as a lawyer. In a word, he was the "man of the neighborhood," and was universally loved and respected by all who knew him. He said that he had known his father to spend days and nights with the neighbors in those chill and fever days, administering medicine bought at his own expense for their relief, and never knew him to receive one dollar in compensation for either legal or medical services. Mr. Brown, in speaking of his step-mother, writes that some years before his return to Illinois his father had married a most estimable woman, whose maiden name was Lorinda Buckman. She was born on Sept. 9th, 1815, at Potsdam, New York. He bears testimony to her faithfulness as a wife and mother, not only to her own, but to her step-children. She gave birth to six children, Joel B., Hulda, Sebastian, Mary, Frank B., and James B. Brown. She died on Sept. 9th, 1892, aged seventy-seven years. Mr. Brown's father lived at Sangamontown until 1847, and at that time he bought a small farm of twenty-five acres, with no improvements, about one mile from Sangamontown, and soon after bought a log house, a story and a half high, which he moved on to this small farm. Christopher C. Brown went to school during the winter in 1844-45; his father being the teacher, and worked in summer cutting wood, milking cows, washing dishes, and doing anything that turned up in the line of work. His father was a justice of the peace and he frequently heard Abraham Lincoln, E. D. Baker, John T. Stuart, Stephen T. Logan, and other members of the Springfield bar, arguing cases before him. Hearing these arguments doubtless fired him with an ambition, even at that early age, to become a lawyer. His brothers, David and Daniel, had opened a drug store at Petersburg, and in 1849 he joined them to learn the business, and continued with them until the fall of 1851. During his stay there he attended the academy two winters. In the fall of 1851 he was sent to Hillsboro, Illinois, to attend the Lutheran college at that place, then under the charge of the Rev. Francis Springer. His father moved to Taylorville to open a drug store, and the young student left Hillsboro and went to assist his father in this new venture. His father's health failed soon after going to Taylorville, and he with his family moved to Petersburg to be under the care of a physician, but he continued to grow worse, and in his fifty-first year he died. After his father's death his brother David moved to Springfield to engage in the

practice of law, and the young student left Petersburg and lived with his brother David, reading law and attending school part of the time at the Illinois Lutheran College. In the fall of 1855, he went to Lexington, Ky., and attended the law school of Transylvania University. But his means would not permit his spending more than one session at the law school, and he returned to Springfield, where he studied closely and soon made application for a license to practice law. The Supreme Court appointed Abraham Lincoln and William H. Herndon to examine him, and Mr. Brown used to tell laughingly, how easy his examination was. When he appeared before his two examiners, Mr. Lincoln, said: "Now Chris, we think we know your fitness to be a lawyer, and we don't think you need to be examined. If you can win cases, you'll succeed, if you can't win them you'll fail. It's all in these two points that success or failure lies. But Herndon and I think you have grit enough in you to succeed, and we both know you'll try your hardest. So we'll sign your recommendation for you." "When they had done so, they shook hands with me, and Mr. Lincoln said: 'Go on and prosper. The world's before you, and we are sure you'll do well at the Bar." That was all. On their recommendation, the clerk of the Supreme Court issued him a license in 1857. He then entered into partnership with his brother David, in the practice of the law. In the spring of 1857 he ran for city attorney on a Citizens' ticket, and was defeated by Mr. Charles A. Keyes, who was the Democratic candidate, (the Democrats had a large majority in the city, and he was defeated by thirty votes). About this time his brother was advised to give up the law business owing to poor health, and he moved to a farm a few miles from the city. Upon this, Mr. C. C. Brown went to Cairo, Ill., to practice law, and take charge of some property in which some of the prominent citizens of Springfield had invested money. He lived there one year, was successful in the practice of law and real estate speculation. While there he took an active part in all enterprises that tended to advance the material and moral interests of the city. He was selected by the citizens to deliver the Fourth of July oration, and his address was highly commended by the people and the public press. In after years, in speaking of this speech he said it was a regular patriotic address, the best he could make. He tried to please the people. It began with the causes of the revolution and traced it's course from the Declaration of Independence down through the long struggle, beginning with the first shot fired at Lexington to the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. But, he was wont to add, "it was not a "spread eagle" speech, meant to tickle the crowd and pander to their baser feelings. *You may be sure that I did my very best in it.*" And we see it was a success. He also took quite an active part in politics as a Republican, and in the spring of 1858, made a speech before the first Republican convention ever held at Cairo, or in Egypt. He was appointed, by Governor Bissell, public administrator of Alexander county, (the first office he ever held). Judge Lightner made him school commissioner of the same county, with power to examine teachers and issue certificates of qualification. He knew almost every man, woman and child in Cairo, which had then about

four thousand inhabitants. As an evidence of the esteem in which he was held, it may be stated that when he left Cairo to return to Springfield, a gathering of two or three hundred citizens accompanied him to the train to bid him good bye. In later years he affiliated with the Democratic party, though he was never an intense partisan. At Springfield, he opened an office and resumed his practice as a lawyer. On October 20th, 1859, he was united in marriage to Miss Elizabeth Jane Stuart (daughter of Major John T. Stuart). Of this union were born three children, Stuart, on August 21st, 1860; Edwards, on May 31st, 1863, and Paul, on January 20th, 1868. Paul died on August 22nd, 1880; the other two children are still living.

On January 1st, 1860, upon the solicitation of Judge Benj. S. Edwards, he entered as a partner into the office of Stuart & Edwards (a law partnership which had existed from 1843 to that date). The name of the new firm was changed to Stuart, Edwards & Brown, and this firm continued until the death of Major Stuart, on November 28th, 1885. After this Judge Edwards and Mr. Brown remained together until death called away Mr. Edwards, on February 4th, 1886. These firms ranked high among the lawyers, and had an immense practice in the various courts. Mr. Brown, as the junior member, was kept very busy. After Judge Edwards' death, Mr. Brown took his son Stuart into partnership for some months, and then Judge William J. Allen, of Southern Illinois, entered the firm, which was called Allen, Brown & Brown. When Judge Allen was appointed judge of the U. S. District Court, Judge Samuel P. Wheeler, of Cairo, Ill., entered the firm, and the name was changed to Brown, Wheeler & Brown. In November, 1897, Mr. Logan Hay entered the firm, and its name was again changed to Brown, Wheeler, Brown & Hay.

Mr. Brown's first wife died March 2, 1869, and about three years later he married at Chicago on June 4th, 1872, Mrs. Caroline Owsley Farnsworth, daughter of John E. Owsley, formerly of Springfield. Of this union were born three children, Elizabeth Jane, on May 4th, 1873; Amelia, on January 24th, 1875, and Owsley, on May 28th, 1877, Amelia died in infancy. The other two children are still living.

Mr. Brown had many honors conferred upon him during his life time. Among them he was appointed school superintendent of Alexander county, Illinois. He was made alderman of the old Third ward of Springfield, on the Republican ticket, and while filling that office he introduced and had passed the ordinance for sewering the "town branch," into which the most of the sewers of the city are now emptied. We can thus justly claim that he was the Father of the sewerage system of Springfield. He was president or trustee of the Springfield Public Library from 1881 to 1901, during which years it became in books and circulation the third largest public library in the State. In 1888 he was chosen, by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, as a delegate to the Pan-Presbyterian Council which met in Exeter Hall, London. He took part in the convention and when it closed he visited, in company with his wife and two youngest children, most of the countries of Central Europe, going as far east as Prague. It was a delightful trip, which he always remembered and referred to with much pleasure.

He was one of the founders of the Bettie Stuart Institute. He contributed very liberally at the beginning of the institute in 1868, and made many donations to it up to the time of his death. (The institute was named in memory of his deceased wife.) He was president of the Springfield boiler and manufacturing company, and president of the Latham Coal Company. He was vice-president of the Sangamon loan and trust company. A leading stockholder in the Woodside Coal Company; trustee of the Lincoln Monument Association; director of the McCormick Theological Seminary; and director of the Springfield Furniture Company. He was superintendent of the First Presbyterian Sunday school, of Springfield, Illinois, and Ruling Elder in the same church for thirty-seven years.

Mr. C. C. Brown was in his seventieth year when he died. He had not been in robust health for some years, and five or six years previous to his death he consulted an eminent physician in Chicago, who, after a thorough examination and diagnosis, pronounced his malady Bright's disease. Although Mr. Brown realized that he had not many years to live, he continued to maintain his bright and sunny disposition; he never alluded to his real condition, not wishing to alarm his friends, and to all appearance was in fairly good health up to within a few weeks of his death. He had been ailing for a few days before he died, but no one expected a fatal termination to his sickness, at that time. But the hour of his departure was at hand. He heard his Master's call, and he responded to it. His passing away was like the departure of a weary soul worn out with the toils and trials of this wilderness world. His work was done, he had earned his rest; and God gave him a new day, for death to him was the Gate of Life. Our friend passed away quietly in the night. It is believed that death came to him suddenly and painlessly. The immediate cause of his death was given out as angina pectoris, more popularly known as neuralgia of the heart. As the real fatal illness lasted but a little while, it left no time for a death-bed testimony, but his testimony had been given already. It was seen in his whole life—a life which in no ordinary degree adorned the doctrine of God his Saviour. It was a life of quiet unostentatious service. If the best proofs of true religion lie in its fruits, the proof of our friend's religion was sure. For his good works were uniform and permanent, not spasmodic. As a Christian he grew in grace as he grew in years. He was a living epistle known and read of all men. One who knew him well said, after his death, "If this world was made up of men such as Christopher C. Brown, it would be almost a heaven on earth." Although Mr. Brown was so strongly attached to his own chosen religious faith, he was inclined to liberality in matters of religion, being entirely free from all forms of bigotry, and not disposed to force his opinions upon others.

Our departed friend had the hope and the consolation of the Christian faith. He believed with Tennyson:

"For though from out our bourne of Time and Place,
The flood may bear me far,
I hope to see my pilot face to face,
When I have crossed the bar."

A faith like that takes away the fear of death. He has crossed the bar, to our sorrow, but to his gain. And yet he is not lost, but only gone before. Longfellow in his beautiful poem on "Resignation," says:

"There is no death! What seems so is transition;
This life of mortal breath
Is but a suburb of the life elysian
Whose portals we call death."

And Cicero tells us, "That last day (of death) does not bring extinction to us, but change of place." And so thought most of the great thinkers of ancient Greece and Rome.

His pastor, the Rev. Dr. Thomas D. Logan, said in his funeral sermon: "In the death of Mr. C. C. Brown, our church has lost its Barnabas. Throughout his long and useful life he has been a true 'son of consolation.' Nature endowed him with a commanding and inspiring presence and a sunny disposition, which grace sweetened and sanctified. He always reminded me of John Bunyan's Mr. Greatheart, for his heart overflowed with generous impulses. He was a christian gentleman of the best type of the old school. In his tongue was the law of kindness. It was his constant desire to smooth the pathway before his fellowmen, and to make all within the sphere of his influence feel comfortable and happy. * * * He knew what he believed, and why he believed it. There was no uncertainty as to his principles. He was a man you could safely tie to, for you always found him just there. * * * He illustrated for our day the meaning of Sampson's riddle, suggested by the swarm of bees that had its hive in the carcass of a lion, 'Out of the strong came forth sweetness'."

The old Greek satirist, Lucian, in his "Dialogues of the Dead," represents Mercury as classing the aged among those who die unlamented. Our departed friend was old in years. He had reached the allotted three score years and ten, when men expect to be in "the sere and yellow leaf", but his death was greatly lamented, even with bitter tears. At his funeral service, in despite of a heavy rain, the church was filled. All classes and conditions were there; rich and poor, high and low, to show their respect for him they would see no more. He was well beloved, and there were good reasons for it. His genial disposition, his noble and manly qualities, his enduring and loving devotion to his friends, and his utterly unselfish nature, won him hosts of friends, and many were those who sorrowed for his death. Few dry eyes were among the people as the service closed, and the remains were carried away to the narrow house, the last abode of all.

And now, a few parting words. He lived, he loved, he labored and he died. That is the story of nearly every human life; but I may add to our departed friend's record, that he lived for a purpose, and the world is the better because he has lived in it. He died leaving behind him a memory fragrant with the perfume of many kindly and generous deeds and words. There is an old maxim which had struck its roots deep into the hearts and consciences of men before the Lord Jesus Christ uttered His Divine Sermon on the Mount, before the Greek sages taught the Athenians the precepts of right living, and even before Confucius, in the darker obscurity of antiquity, illumined the civilization of his time by the doctrine of peace on earth and good

will to men. That ancient maxim was, "Of the dead speak nothing but good." And I can safely follow its teachings to-day. To say that our departed friend was faultless, would be to bestow upon him the attributes of the Deity. He was a man, and he had frailties and weaknesses like others of the human race. But he tried to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God. And that is what the Lord requires of every man who seeks to walk aright before him. May we all be able to follow our brother's example in this; and may we never forget that we too are mortal.

I would gladly say more in praise of our lamented friend, but I have neither the scholar's pen, nor the poet's fancy; besides, I think them needless in this instance. His deeds speak more eloquently than my words would. But the beautiful poem of Fitz-Greene Halleck to the memory of Joseph Rodman Drake expresses just what I would like to have written if I could. I will quote a few of the lines—

"Green be the turf above thee
Friend of my better days;
None knew thee but to love thee!
None named thee but to praise.

When hearts, whose truth was proven,
Like thine, are laid in earth,
There should a wreath be woven
To tell the world their worth.

It should be mine to braid it
Around thy faded brow,
But I've in vain essayed it,
And feel I cannot now.

While memory bids me weep thee,
Nor thoughts nor words are free,
The grief is fixed too deeply
That mourns a man like thee."

I need add nothing to these eloquent verses, and language would fail me to say all that I would like to say about our departed and lamented brother and associate. I cannot, therefore, better close this inadequate memorial tribute than by bidding him farewell. A last farewell to him who was as a friend and a brother to me, a true comrade in the battle of life. "Brother, fare-thee-well, but not forever! May my soul, when my hour comes, be with thine!"

JOSEPH WALLACE, A. M.—1834-1904.

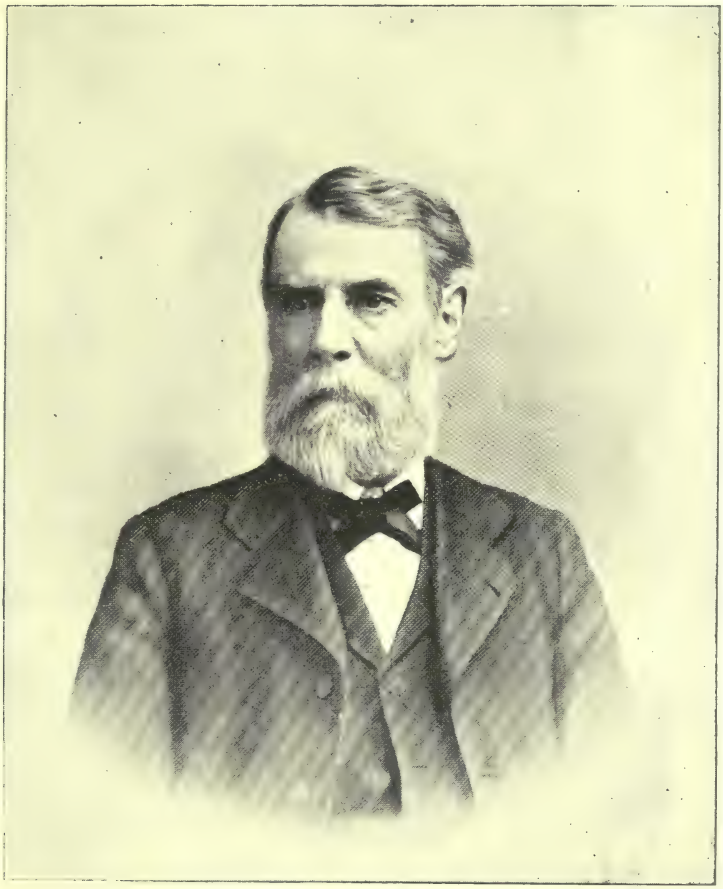
By Charles A. Keyes.

Joseph Wallace was born in Hunter's Bottom (the loveliest valley on the river Ohio) in what is now Carroll county, Kentucky, September 30th, 1834, and is one of a family of five brothers, four of whom still survive. His father and mother, James and Mary (Morris) Wallace, were born in the State of Kentucky. Both of his grandfathers were pioneers from Virginia to Kentucky, about 1796.

The maternal grandfather of Mr. Wallace, John Morris, was born and lived near Old Jamestown, Virginia, made historic by the surrender there of the English Army to American forces, and the ending of the Revolutionary War.

Joseph Wallace, on his mother's side of the house, came from a family of lawyers, three of his maternal uncles were students at law, and practiced law, and two of them, George Morris, of Henderson, and Walker Morris, of Louisville, attained to eminence at the bar of Kentucky. At the age of two years Joseph Wallace was taken by his parents to Jefferson county, Indiana, where he resided upon a farm with his parents, and attended the district school there provided, and obtained his early education. In 1852 and 1853, he entered as a student in Franklin College, Indiana, but did not graduate. Afterward, in 1894, that institution conferred upon him the honorary degree of A. M., a compliment which he well deserved. When Joseph Wallace attained the age of twenty-two years, he commenced the study of law in the office of Judge Charles E. Walker, of Madison, Indiana, and remained in his office one year. In September, 1857, he removed to Springfield, Illinois, where he resumed his legal studies in the law office of Messrs. Stuart & Edwards, an able, well-known and distinguished law firm of said city and state. In February, 1858, Mr Wallace was admitted to the bar, by the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois, and a license as an attorney was issued to him, under the order of said Supreme Court. During the first six years of his life in the city of Springfield, he made his home with his uncle (by marriage), William P. Grimsley, an old time merchant and leading citizen of the city, who has long since been gathered to his fathers.

Joseph Wallace was kind and genial in his manner, and ever considerate of the feelings and opinions of others; he held many and various offices at the hands of the people, such as police magistrate, member of the city council, reviser of the city ordinances, and other places of trust and honor. With whatever office or place he was entrusted, he always performed and discharged the duties and requirements thereof with honesty, ability and to the full satisfaction of his constituency.



JOSEPH WALLACE, A. M.

In politics Mr. Wallace was a democrat; he believed in the democratic faith as laid down and taught by Mr. Jefferson. He was not a political brawler; when he discussed a political question, he did it quietly and in an able and dignified manner; he believed in sound money, a tariff for revenue, and territorial expansion.

Mr. Wallace had a taste and aptitude for literary composition, and wrote and prepared many attractive pieces of note, such as the "Life of Colonel Edward D. Baker," the great Illinois soldier and orator, and the "Springfield City Code of 1884."

In 1893, he published with the Robert Clarke company, a work, entitled "History of Illinois and Louisiana, under the French," it being a history of the Mississippi Valley during the first century of its exploration and occupation by white men. Also, in 1904, a work entitled

Past and Present
of the
City of Springfield
and
Sangamon County,
Illinois.
Illustrated.

Joseph Wallace was a member of the Illinois State Historical Society, and contributed several papers to its published transactions.

Joseph Wallace was united in marriage to Miss Mary E. Hoagland, of Hunter's Bottom, Kentucky, who still survives. She is a lady of talent and education. She is a descendant from one of the old Knickerbocker families of New York City, the founder of which came from Haarlem, Holland, and settled there as early as 1655, the place being then known as New Amsterdam. Mrs. Wallace was a pupil in 1853, of Science Hill Female Academy, at Shelbyville, Kentucky, where she graduated after three years spent under the instruction of Mrs. Julia A. Tevis, who was a celebrated educator.

Mrs. Wallace is a great reader and student; she is a woman of superior culture, a linguist as well as an English scholar, and a kind and pleasing lady.

JOSEPH WALLACE, A. M.—1834-1904.

By Rev. Edwin S. Walker, A. M.

On the 10th day of August, 1904, after a protracted illness, one of the earliest members of the Illinois State Historical Society, Joseph Wallace, Esq., departed this life, at his home in Springfield, in the seventieth year of his age.

He was born in Hunter's Bottom, in what is now Carroll county, Kentucky, September 30th, 1834, one of a family of five brothers, two of whom survive him.

His parents, James and Mary (Morris) Wallace, were natives of Kentucky. Both of his grandfathers were pioneers who came from Virginia and settled in this then new state, near the close of the eighteenth century. His maternal grandfather, John Morris, was born, and reared, near Jamestown, Virginia. The Morris family was a family of lawyers, three of Mr. Wallace's maternal uncles having been members of the bar, two of whom, George Morris, of Henderson, and Walker Morris, of Louisville, attained eminence in their profession at the bar of Kentucky. When two years of age, Joseph Wallace was taken by his parents, on their removal to Jefferson county, Indiana, where he was reared and grew up to manhood on a farm, and there obtained such early education as was available in the district schools of that state. When eighteen years of age he entered Franklin College, in Franklin county, Indiana, where he diligently pursued his studies for several terms, taking the regular classical course, and made a record as a thorough student, cultivating especially a taste for polite literature, and forming a style at once clear, elegant, terse and concise, which distinguished his work as an author, and gave him rank with the best writers of his time.

Owing to circumstances of a pecuniary nature, he did not remain to complete his course to graduation, but so thoroughly was he grounded in the literary art that he was ever afterward a close student.

When twenty-two years of age, in 1856, he commenced the study of law in the office of Judge Charles E. Walker, of Madison, Indiana, where he remained one year.

Removing to Springfield, Illinois, in 1857, he resumed his law studies in the office of Messrs. Stuart & Edwards, then one of the most distinguished law firms in Illinois. In due time, after an examination by the Justices of the Supreme Court, he was duly licensed as an attorney, and at once entered upon the practice of his profession in Springfield.

During the earlier years of his residence in Springfield, he made his home with an uncle, William T. Grimsley, an old-time merchant and leading citizen.

On the 14th of January, 1864, Mr. Wallace was united in marriage with Miss Mary Elizabeth Hoagland, of Hunter's Bottom, Kentucky, who was descended from one of the old Knickerbocker families of New York City, the founder of which emigrated from Holland in 1655, and settled in what was then known as New Amsterdam. A lady of culture and literary tastes, she complemented in large degree the characteristic mental qualities of her husband, and their home life, though unblest with children, was one of those which had a peculiar and all-pervading charm.

By political affiliation Mr. Wallace was a life-long democrat of the old school. Though never an active partisan, he held various public offices. From 1866 to 1874 he was a justice of the peace and police magistrate, to the duties of which position he brought his knowledge of the law, and a judicial temperament, which enabled him to administer justice with an even hand.

In 1880 he was elected a member of the city common council, and there, as in every other position of trust, he served the public with scrupulous fidelity, and devotion to the interests of our growing capital city of Illinois.

Always of a delicate constitution his life was, on that account, more of the calm and contemplative type, than of the strenuous, and hence, not such as to command that recognition which more aggressive, but less talented men, often gain among their fellows. He early developed a taste for literary composition, and devoted a considerable portion of his leisure to literary pursuits. In recognition of his thorough culture and scholarship, he was, in 1894, honored by Franklin College, where he pursued his early studies, with the degree of Master of Arts.

As an author, his first work of note was a

"Sketch of the Life, and Public Services,
of
Edward D. Baker,
United States Senator from Oregon."

This was issued, a 12 mo. volume of 144 pages, in 1870. Though brief, this work is a comprehensive outline of the life of its distinguished subject, civil and military, from the time when he entered upon his distinguished career, in Springfield in 1835, as a member of the Sangamon County Bar, associated, with such men as Lincoln, Logan, Douglas, Shields, McDougal, Stuart, Trumbull, and McClernand, to the time of his death while valiantly leading his regiment at Ball's Bluff in 1861, as Senator of the United States, and a General in the volunteer forces of the Republic.

Than the name of Baker, there is no name that will longer survive in the early history of Springfield, and it was fortunate for his fame that his biography was written by a citizen of Springfield, and so well done as to reflect honor alike upon the subject of the memoir, and the author of such scholarly tastes as to render the work a classic in American biographical literature.

In 1878, Mr. Wallace wrote a "Historical Outline of Illinois," which was published as an introduction to a Legislative Manual and Directory, published by Tousley & Co.

In 1880, while a member of the city council, upon the occasion of the death of Judge Stephen T. Logan, he delivered an address before that body upon the life, character and public services of that distinguished citizen. So able and discriminative was this address that it attracted wide attention, and the highest commendation for its author. It was published in 1872 in a memorial volume of the late judge, which embraced other tributes to his memory, delivered before the Circuit Court of Sangamon county, the Supreme Court of Illinois, and the United States Circuit Court, by such distinguished members of the Illinois bench and bar as Judges Thomas Drummond, John D. Caton, David Davis, T. Lyle Dickey, John M. Scott, and Charles S. Zane, Hon. John T. Stuart, Benjamin S. Edwards, Milton Hay, Mason Brayman and O. H. Browning—a galaxy of names which adorn the pages of the history of Illinois, as the most illustrious lawyers of their time. Able, scholarly and eloquent as were those several addresses, that of Mr. Wallace was in keen analysis and clear insight, which the term "genius" only can fully express, confessedly equal to that of any of those eminent men. As a literary production it may, without extravagance, be termed a classic.

In 1884, Mr. Wallace was the principal author of a Revised City Code, published by authority of the city council.

In 1885, he wrote for the *Illinois State Register* a series of biographical sketches of United States Senators from Illinois, from 1818 to 1884.

His principal literary production, and that which will serve to give him place among American historical writers, was "The History of Illinois and Louisiana under the French Rule," an elaborate history of the Mississippi valley during the first century of its occupation by white men, published by Robert Clarke & Co., of Cincinnati, in 1893. This work is comprised in a volume of 433 pages, and embraces a wide range of most interesting facts relating to the French occupancy of this continent, nowhere else to be found, so graphically set forth in so brief a compass. The value of the work is manifest in its carefully selected authorities, and its truly historic spirit, clear and concise in style, it is a work to be coveted by every student of American history.

Mr. Wallace was, from its organization, a member of the Illinois State Historical Society. Interested in its growth and progress, he took an active part in its work.

At the annual meeting held in January, 1903, he read a paper upon "Fort De Chartres; its Origin, Growth and Decline," which was published in the proceedings of that year. This monograph, of twelve pages, form a valuable addition to the history of French rule, published by him ten years earlier, and preserved in concise form material carefully collated from a wide range of study and investigation. Embracing a period of nearly two centuries, the romantic story of the old fortress recalls the names of many long ago departed, who—

"Crossed the tide that ebbs, but never flows."

The last literary work of Mr. Wallace was the preparation in 1903 of an elaborate sketch, entitled "The Past and Present of the City of Springfield, and Sangamon County," which forms the first chapters of a work in two royal octavo volumes of biographical matter, published by the "S. J. Clarke Publishing Company," of Chicago, in 1904.

The third chapter of this historical outline of the city, and county, entitled "The Prominent and Illustrious Dead of the City of Springfield," embraces brief, but valuable biographies, of several men, who for a time were residents of our capital city of Illinois, and whose names are engraved, never to be effaced, from the annals of the city, state or nation.

As in all his writings, this work shows careful and painstaking investigation and furnishes a clear and full representation of the city and county, in relation to their growth—resources and importance as the State capital.

At the time of his decease Mr. Wallace left two volumes of unpublished manuscript, one of 1,550 pages, entitled

"Life and Times
of
Stephen A. Douglas,
Embracing the most important of his Speeches and State
Papers, with Eulogies pronounced upon
him in Congress, etc."

The other volume consists of two parts:

FIRST PART.

"The Governors of Illinois
From the Organization of the State in 1818 to 1889."

SECOND PART.

"Illinois in Congress,
Containing Biographies of the United States Senators
of Illinois, from 1818 to 1891."

Mr. Wallace was preparing for the publication of both the above works when, in June, 1903, he was, by failure of his health, compelled to desist and leave their publication ineffective. For a full year thereafter he lingered in feebleness, calmly awaiting the summons to the life immortal.

He was a grandson of Rev. John Wallace, one of the earliest Baptist preachers in Kentucky. Educated in the Baptist faith, he was, at the time of his death, a member of the Central Baptist Church, in Springfield.

Of medium stature, and slight physique, affable and courteous in demeanor, he was by nature undemonstrative, yet genial, a lover of good books, and a scholar whose life was, by choice, more that of the cloister, apart from the bustle of the world, than of the rough contests of business, in the marts of trade, and the forum. A gentleman of the old school, a firm believer in the Lord Jesus Christ as his Redeemer, he went to his reward with the confident hope—

"That, with affections changed and never,
With heavenly minded aspirations fail,
We may betimes for him ourselves endue,
And ready be, to meet him in the air."

In the language of a favorite poet, his motto was, while life lasted—

"*Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto.*"

FREDERICK CLIFTON PIERCE—1856-1904.

Frederick Clifton Pierce was born in Worcester county, Mass., July 30, 1856. He was educated in the schools of his native state and when a young man became engaged in journalistic work being connected with the press of Massachusetts. He early became interested in historical and genealogical subjects, and in 1879 he published a volume entitled, The Pierce History and Genealogy. This volume reached at least two editions and may be found in all genealogical collections. In 1880 he published the Harwood Genealogy, and histories of the towns of Grafton and Barre, Mass. In 1880 he removed to the State of Illinois. He at once took part in historical and literary affairs in his adopted State, joining the societies for the benefit of such objects. He took some interest in civil and military affairs as is the duty of all good citizens and was appointed a colonel on the staff of Governor R. J. Oglesby. In 1886 he published a history of Rockford, Ill., and in 1888 he published a volume bearing the title of The Pearce or Pearse Genealogy. He was the secretary of the Sherman Historical Association, and as before stated, he took a lively and helpful interest in all matters relating to history and genealogy. He died April 5, 1904. He was a member of the Illinois State Historical Society, and this brief notice to his memory will be supplemented in a later volume by a more extended notice written by one who knew him well and can testify in an appropriate manner to his qualities of heart and mind.

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